

Quarterly of the California Historical Society

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Vol. VIII, No. 1

March, 1929

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Incorporated March 6, 1886

Reorganized March 27, 1922

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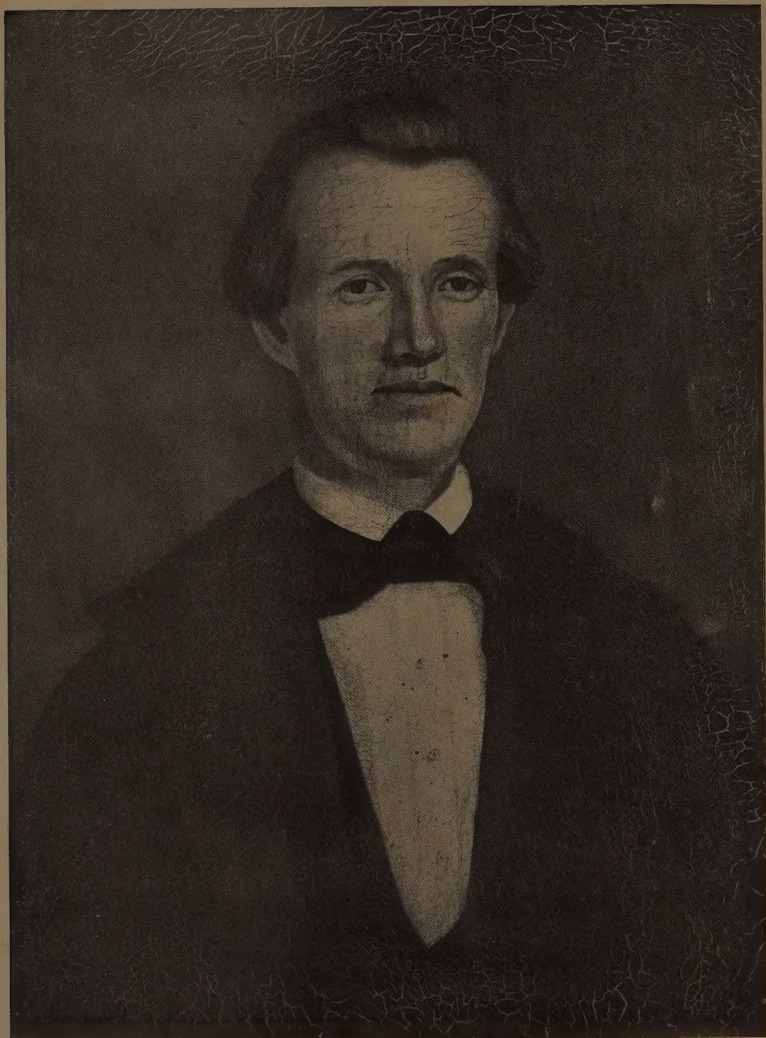
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DR. ISAAC READ, 1817-1852

From a portrait painted several years before his journey to California in 1851

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THE CHAGRES RIVER ROUTE TO CALIFORNIA IN 1851

When my father, George Willis Read, crossed the plains to California in 1850,¹ he left behind him one to whom he afterward referred as "my noble and gifted brother, Isaac." Of a family of nine boys and two girls, Isaac and George, separated in age by an interval of only two years, were united by an unusually strong affection. Choosing the same profession, medicine, their tastes, their sympathies, even in manhood, drew them together. In the summer of 1850 George reached the gold fields, and in December of the same year Isaac already contemplated following him. At that time Isaac was the victim of a disease whose cause was unknown and whose treatment was not understood — pulmonary tuberculosis. On New Year's Eve, 1850, from his retreat in a sanatorium "opposite mouth Big Beaver creek," Pennsylvania, Isaac pencilled his loneliness, his longing for that beloved brother, and his thoughts on the revolving half-century, then wheeling to its close.

. . . My own peculiar condition in part urges me to make a note of the times. . . . Almost 34 years of age, still unsettled and worse than all a disease hung upon the principle of life. No home or abiding place. And still more to be lamented, a dear brother in whose lot my own has been and still is almost inseparably linked, in a far off country, alone, surrounded by vice and temptations of all kinds (Oh may he prove a rock not to be split!) and begging me to come to him. What shall I do? Shall I go? . . . My own spirit says go, and also promises to defend me against these enemies of the flesh.

What an eventful night! 12 o'clock is the pivot of the 19th Century exactly and how many great changes have been and are still pouring in upon Science and upon the destiny of man! How many reformations in the minds of men, and how many in progress! The first half is full, but man is yet a Slave; a slave to kings, a slave to priests, a slave to his own kind by abject bondage and a slave to his own appetites. . . .

Yet when we look back over the 50 years now about closed how much we find to encourage us. . . . Slavery and war are both attacked by the people boldly and without being hindered. . . .

The Steam Engine, the Electric Telegraph and the Whistling Loco Motive are the boasts of the past half of the 19th century, and they are destined to bring the nations so near together that it will be to their interests to drop all pursuits that ruin them. Yes, the power loom, the nail cutter, the spinning Jenny . . . are among the great achievements of the 1st half of this glorious Century. Indeed, what may we not hope for in the coming half? . . . We shall have a railroad from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific for carrying burthens and balloons for carrying passengers. . . . May God hurry forward the day, is the prayer of one devoted to the interests and welfare of men, Isaac Read.

In the same sheepskin pocketbook — itself a gift from George — in which Isaac jotted down the above, is to be found his daily record of the weary journey which was soon to reunite the brothers.

At this time, three routes to California lay open to the traveler: the overland route, over the Oregon-California trail; the ocean route, via Cape Horn; and

¹ *A Pioneer of 1850, George Willis Read, 1819-1880.* Boston, 1927.

the ocean route, via the Isthmus. The voyager who chose the last took ship either to San Juan de Nicaragua, journeying thence by canoe, flatboat or small steamer over the river of the same name and Lake Nicaragua; or to Chagres, three hundred miles farther down the coast, where he disembarked for the trip up the Chagres River — the California Transit, as it was sometimes called. The Panama Railroad, already in the initial stages of construction, was soon to carry its first passengers from Navy Bay to Gatun on the Chagres, about nine miles inland, but not until January, 1855, were passengers taken through to Panama.

The Panama "Transit" followed a path of great historical interest. Founded in 1651, Panama soon became the great Pacific port of the Spaniards, a position which she maintained until about the middle of the eighteenth century, when sea traffic began to swing around Cape Horn. From Panama eastward through the village of Cruces, the head of navigation on the Chagres, and on to Porto Bello on the Atlantic Coast, ran a mule track — the royal road of the *Conquistadores*. Over this, and sometimes down the Chagres River, was borne the treasure of the Incas, when Spain despoiled Peru. Annually the Spanish galleons swept across the sea to Porto Bello to collect their cargoes. Now another flood of gold from the west had begun to flow over the Isthmus on its way into the coffers of the world, but it is doubtful whether a tithe of the eager fortune seekers who passed here on their way to the gold fields, or who returned, sometimes beggared and broken in health, sometimes with the desired dust in their possession, had any idea of the former grandeur or importance of the route.

In their aspects at this time, the two "Transits" were similar in many respects, and there appears to have been but little to choose between them. The port of San Juan de Nicaragua was nearer to New York by one day's sail than Chagres, but this was offset by the fact that the Isthmus is wider there than farther south, and the journey from the Atlantic to the Pacific correspondingly longer. Westbound travelers in both cases followed the waters upstream to the head of navigation and then proceeded by mule or afoot to the shore of the Pacific.

The hardships of the trip to California by either route seem almost past belief. "We have no record," says one early writer,² "of the number of passengers who crossed the Isthmus before the opening of the railway, but during the first four years after it was opened there were no less than 121,820. I beg leave to congratulate the 121,820 who crossed by railway." "Every day," wrote one who tarried in Chagres at the time of the gold rush,³ "every day some steamer or sailing craft from our Atlantic cities, and occasionally one of the latter class from some French or English port, would enter and disgorge its mass of eager life upon the sandy point, and hurry back again for a fresh cargo. I doubt if ever slave ships, in the palmiest days of that hellish traffic, were crowded to the extent of some of the Chagres packets during this period of the California immi-

²Bidwell, Charles Toll: *The Isthmus of Panama*. London, 1865, pp. 161-162.

³Fabens, Joseph W.: *A Story of Life on the Isthmus*. New York, 1853, p. 9.

gration." "The distance from Chagres to Panama, in a straight line," another stated,⁴ "is not fully 38 miles; and yet I met a great many who were compelled to spend seven or eight days in crossing — being exposed to the heaviest rains — unable to obtain food or a comfortable place to lie down at night, or a spot where to dry their wet clothes." "From Chagres to San Francisco," declared Madame de Saint-Amant,⁵ "I do not think it would be possible to suffer more than I did. I grew thin, I changed in appearance, although always in good health, as if I were recovering from a long and painful illness."

The mortality among Isthmian travelers during these years was appalling. A tropical country before the days of scientific sanitation, when the vector rôle of the *Stegomyia fasciata* and *Anopheles* mosquitos was unknown, it took its annual toll of thousands of lives. "Chagres fever" and "Panama fever" were household phrases, the terms including pernicious malaria and yellow fever. In both Chagres and Panama American graveyards were set apart to provide for the hosts who succumbed. The city of Chagres was thought to be especially pestilential. One of the surgeons of the Panama Railroad company, returning to New York at the close of 1851, stated:⁶ "Every one has probably heard of the 'Chagres fever,' which is usually spoken of with an emphasis that strikes terror to the timid, especially if they have ever been exposed to the atmosphere of that place. Although the name is not, by any means, a classic one, yet it has the advantage of being correct, in a general sense; for I do not believe that there is another place in the world, where the causes of diseases are developed and fostered to a greater extent than they are in this place of most unenviable notoriety." A gold seeker who traveled to California by this route in 1849,⁷ returning the same way in 1850, tells us that "Chagres had the name, (and it undoubtedly deserved it,) of being the most unhealthy place in Christendom. Many of our passengers had their lives insured before starting, and there was a clause in each policy, that remaining at Chagres over night would be a forfeiture."

Toward Chagres, however, Isaac bent his way, influenced perhaps by the fact that the shortest journey to California, in point of time, was supposed to have been made by this route. Because of the state of his health, the overland trip across the continent, with its months of hardship and exposure, especially to alkaline dust, had been deemed out of the question for him, and like thousands of others bent upon reaching California, he had determined to travel via the Isthmus. In November, 1851, he entered upon the arduous journey of five and a half

⁴ Autenrieth, Dr. E. L., a resident of Panama, prepared "A Topographical Map of the Isthmus of Panama, together with a separate and enlarged map of the lines of travel, and a map of the city of Panama," which was published in 1851 by J. H. Colton, New York. This was accompanied by a pamphlet of 14 pages from Dr. Autenrieth's pen, entitled *A Few Words for the Traveller over the Isthmus of Panama*, and containing a wealth of information concerning the Chagres River Transit at this time.

⁵ Letters of Mme. de Saint-Amant in *Voyages en Californie et dans l'Orégon par M. de Saint-Amant, envoyé du gouvernement français, en 1851-1852*. Paris, 1854, p. 67.

⁶ Griswold, C. D.: *The Isthmus of Panama, and What I Saw There*. New York, 1852, p. 97.

⁷ [Letts, J. M.]: *A Pictorial View of California, Including A Description of the Panama and Nicaragua Routes*, etc. New York, 1853, p. 14.

weeks from Pittsburgh to San Francisco. Ignorant of the privations awaiting him, unfamiliar with travel on the sea, and mortally sick in addition, he swung out, like the iron after the magnet, to find his brother George. Day by day he set down in the sheepskin pocketbook an account of the strange world through which he passed. His record follows.

November 6th 1851

Left Pittsburgh this morning, California bound.

On the grand Pa. canal⁸ 80 ms.; then Railroad to Phila.

Passing up the valley of the Allegheny river for the first, and for aught now known, the last time. It is a delightful valley; though a gloomy day, the forest, the stream and the country generally are very beautiful. Dull Nov.—the forest is robbed of its green beauties but these are replaced by the splendid variegations of evergreen, yellow and red. A passage up this valley differs from one up the Monongahela in its being directly north while the other is in the opposite course.—Our company is composed of 8, all brave, good and true. James McDonough, Wm. Mason, Adam Whitzel, George Bomgarner, Dr. G. F. Birch, Simon Donohoe, Thomas Weaver and myself. Feel much depressed physically from a bad cold, and a bad night's rest.

Have no forebodings in regard to the dangers and hardships before me. On the contrary have not the least fear. Hope I may not be disappointed. Health am seeking and the face of a beloved brother. Afternoon. Just passed the Freeport Aqueduct⁹ and entered Kiskiminetas valley.

7th Pass'd over the Portage Railroad on our route to Phila. This road ascends the Mountains by 6 or 7 incline planes with steam by stationary engines, and descends by the same power.¹⁰ This will all be superseded in a short

⁸ The great Pennsylvania Canal as originally planned in 1825 extended from Harrisburg to Pittsburgh and thence to Lake Erie, utilizing by means of locks the waters of various streams in its path. This canal and the Portage Railroad—a necessary link by which the mountains were surmounted—were both engineering feats. They were opened to the public in 1834, Pennsylvania thus early displaying her characteristic energy in attacking problems of transportation.

⁹ This aqueduct was designed to carry the canal across a transverse stream. Day, in his *Historical Collections of the State of Pennsylvania*, etc., Philadelphia, 1843, p. 98, describes it: "Freeport, a flourishing village on the right bank of the Allegheny river and Pa. canal . . . was laid out by David Todd about the year 1800. . . . The village made but slow progress, until the construction of the canal. This work crosses the Allegheny about a mile above, passes through the centre of the village, and then crosses Buffalo creek on an aqueduct a short distance below."

¹⁰ These inclined planes were not unlike the funicular or cog railways now in use on various mountains, and were designed to solve the problem of gradients, a severe one in the Allegheny Mountains. Day, *op. cit.*, pp. 183-184, describes this road: "The Allegheny Portage railroad is 39 69-100 miles in length from Hollidaysburg to Johnstown, overcoming in ascent and descent an aggregate of 2,570 feet, 1,398 of which are on the eastern and 1,172 on the western side of the mountain. . . . The top of the mountain, which is some 200 feet higher than the culminating point of the railroad, is 2,700 feet above the Delaware river at Philadelphia. The ascent and descent have been overcome by ten inclined planes, lifting from 130 to 307 feet, and varying in inclination between 4 1-8 and 5 5-6 degrees. The shortest plane is 1,585 feet, and 130 feet high; the longest is 3,100 feet, and 307 feet high. . . . The principal viaduct on the line is that over the Horseshoe bend; it is a semicircular arch of 80

time by Railroads from Phila., N. Y., and Balt. cities without such engines, which will greatly facilitate travel and cheapen transportation.

8" Arrived in Phila. this morning 4 o'clock, took food, and pursued our journey over Railroad to N.Y. 1 o'clock. Secured passage on Cal. steamer Ohio.¹¹

9" Sabbath. Spent writing to friends and reading.

10" Took a stroll up Broadway, Barnum's Museum, Astor House, etc. This street exceeds all other streets in North America for business, bustle and beauty as well as costly and magnificent buildings. It is a rare privilege to walk up Broadway.

Afternoon spent shopping and walking around town.

N. Y. is *some* city and no mistake. Saw the Steamship Empire City¹² leave her Anchorage for California. She moved off majestically and like she delighted in her element.

11" Set sail at 3 o'clock precisely, passed Sandy Hook light houses between sundown and dark. Here we sent out the long boat to shore with a dozen or more who had tried to steal their passage without tickets. Poor fellows! I pitied them when I saw them set upon that dreary shore of sand. Still, it may be their gain for we may be lost.

12" We have been under full head of steam and the oscillating of our ship has made many of our passengers sea sick and my own companions among the rest, some of them very bad.

It has always been a mystery to me how an engine could be safely run when

feet span. . . . The cars are elevated by stationary steam-engines at the head of each plane, and on the intervening levels locomotives and horses are used. . . . Since this road was constructed, such improvements have been made in the construction of locomotives, that a project has been suggested for re-locating the whole road, and so arranging and extending the grades as to adapt them to the tractive power of locomotives, and dispense entirely with stationary engines, or, at any rate, with all except one at the extreme summit. This route would cross the summit by a gap north of the present route."

¹¹ One of the fleet of the Pacific Mail Steamship Co. On Nov. 8, 1851, the *Shipping and Commercial List*, and *New-York Price Current*, carried the following advertisement: "Pacific Mail Steam Ship Company. Change of Sailing Day. Only Through Line for San Francisco, via Chagres, Direct, Fare Reduced. On Tuesday, Nov. 11th, at 3 P.M. the splendid double engine steam ship OHIO, (3000 tons burthen,) J. F. Schenck, U.S.N., Commander, will sail . . . from her pier at the foot of Warren-street, North River, with the Government Mails, direct for CHAGRES, connecting with the U.S. Mail Steam ship TENNESSEE, to sail without any delay for San Francisco on arrival of the passengers and mails at Panama." On Nov. 11, 1851, the *New York Commercial Advertiser* contained among its news items: "The steam ship Ohio leaves this afternoon at 3 o'clock for Navy Bay, with five hundred and fifty passengers for California."

¹² Belonging to the United States Mail Steamship Co., and also advertised in the *Shipping and Commercial List*, Nov. 8, 1851: "Monday, Nov. 10th, at 3 P.M. The splendid steam ship EMPIRE CITY, (two thousand tons,) J. Tanner, Commander, will sail . . . at precisely 3 o'clock, P.M., from her pier at the foot of Warren-street, North River, with the Government Mails for Chagres. Chagres passengers transferred at Havana to the steam ship PHILADELPHIA. Passengers leaving in the Empire City, will connect with the United States Mail steam ship TENNESSEE, to sail without any delay for San Francisco, on arrival of passengers and mails at Panama." The *Empire City* was really bound for New Orleans, despite the fact that she carried mail for Chagres, Havana being merely a port of call where passengers and mail for Chagres were transferred to the steamship *Philadelphia* of the same line.

a vessel is reeling and tossing over the boisterous Atlantic, one moment a wheel wading 10 or 15 feet and the next running almost clear.

Now I find this danger is obviated by the light head of steam used. This vessel is one of the largest class, 3000 tons burthen, with an engine 200 tons horse power. They never go over 25 lbs. to the inch and our western fresh water boats carry sometimes 200 and seldom less than 150 lbs. to the inch. Hence the great liability to, and frequent cases of, explosion among them and the little probability and uncommon occurrence of such accidents with these.

Still feel nothing of the sea sickness, and likely will not.

13" Beautiful day at sea. The ship rolls and tosses with a steady strong wind. Waves about 6 feet high. Sky beautifully interspersed with clouds. Travelling about 10 knots. Comrades all sea sick and some of them spirit broken, occasionally dropping a long sigh for home. Still I am undisturbed. A blessing. Latitude $31^{\circ} 24''$ North. A shark passed our vessel and a school of flying fish rose close to us. The wonders of the great deep are many.

14" Sea balmy and sun shining clear. Rose from my couch and looked through the skylight over the blue water and gentle waves, saw a sheet in the distance and supposed it to be a sail but on 2d view found it to be a whale spouting, the water spreading as it rose and giving it the appearance of a sail spread.

The sea has been delightful all day and we have made good headway. Boys all better. Feel fearful of the heat at Chagres. Hope — and hope alone sustains in all trials. 10° Chagres; this Equator must be warm indeed.

15" Very rough sea all night and all day. Clear in the forenoon. Clouds — threatens rain and blows hard until 8, then clears and calms. Latitude $28^{\circ} 20''$. Birch, McDonough and Mason still sick. Cannot procure food the sick can eat without paying or bribing the steward. Have seen hard and all kinds of fare but this for quality and manner exceeds all I ever experienced. Horses have stables and hogs have styes but the sons of men are crowded in an aisle 5 by 60 feet with a trough on either side 18 inches wide lined with zinc; here your food is thrown, pewter plates and tin cups, hard crackers, strong tea and coffee, Pork and Beef well seasoned with dirt and Negro sweat.¹³ Life is sweet and must be sustained even if filth and dirt are mixed with its staff. How little is known by those who have never tasted of the Bitter how to appreciate the sweet. — Health has been my object in this trip or I should be at a loss for an excuse for undertaking so foolish an enterprise. Believe health will be improved by the sail if the hot weather does not counteract the benefits.

Witnessed a funeral at sea today. A child. Corpse was placed in a box, weights attached and dropped into the fathomless deep. The Bell was tolled, the wheels stopped and the burial or grave (as it might be called) was aft the

¹³ Yet the Pacific Mail Steamship Co., following a practice all too common, advertised this as "the Splendid Double-Engine Steamship OHIO, unequalled in her accommodations and speed," *New York Commercial Advertiser*, Nov. 10, 1851.

wheel-house, when the wheels again revolve and we move forward towards our destination and perhaps our end.

16'' Sabbath. Beautiful calm day and we glided along slowly and quietly. Begin to feel the pressure of the climate, yet not arrived at the tropical line of Cancer, while Chagres is so low as 10° north latitude. 4 o'clock — Bell tolls for church instead of ringing as on shore. The captain comes forward and invites us to attend service. Now the appropriateness of tolling is apparent. The truth is, it is a more solemn occasion than death itself, for that is only an event in the existence of the soul, while this is a summons to mock God with Hypocrisy. To think of worship on this line, when the whole arrangement is to rob men *honorably*, which in addition to common highway robbery has Hypocrisy attached to it!

17'' In sight of land all day, off southern extremity of Florida. Fine sailing wind all day, made 12 knots.

Took $\frac{1}{2}$ salt water bath and believe it injured me. Had attack Haemotysis. Feel very much like being at home and if had not taken through ticket would wheel about at the Isthmus, and would at any rate if had no relative there.

18'' On rising this morning, which was brilliantly clear, I beheld a little south of sunrise a high ridge of Mountains looming up out of the ocean like the darkest heaviest cloud of summer's evening, and on enquiry learned it was Hispaniola or St. Domingo, the first land seen by Columbus when he discovered America. It is now possessed by the coloured people who drove out the French during Buonaparte's reign. In a short time in the dim distance rose the white sand banks of Cuba. Pass'd through this channel perhaps 40 miles. We entered the Caribbean Sea in which we travelled all day and all night. — Companions all better and seem quite cheerful.

When I came on board I feared the waves and shuddered at the tumbling of the ship but now am pleased with both and nothing renders me more uncomfortable in feeling than a calm smooth sea. A striking illustration of the force of habit and joy of experience.

19'' Day fine with a moderate breeze and beautiful sea. Passengers all in good spirits. In 20 hours' sail of Chagres, 3 o'clock; threatens storm and rain, sails furled and sailors dressed in their water proof. All preparing to land. — Night. The captain and other officers in authority disputed of the distance from land and not agreeing positively, concluded to lie still for safety. In the morning found ourselves 5 hours out proving the captain to be right.

[Chagres was known as a dangerous port, possessing no harbor, properly speaking, and lying exposed to the "northers" which sweep the coast. The passengers on this trip of the *Ohio* were the last ever landed at Chagres by the Pacific Mail Steamship Company. The steamers *Illinois* and *Georgia* were scheduled for the following tri-monthly sailing from New York. Owing to a breakdown of her machinery, the *Illinois* was temporarily removed from the service, and the next ships of the two Mail Steamship lines to reach Chagres

after the *Ohio* were the *Georgia* and the *Philadelphia*. On account of stormy weather, they were unable to effect a landing there and, steaming down the coast a few miles to Navy Bay, transferred their passengers to the Panama Railroad. These were the first passengers ever carried over that road. *The New York Commercial Advertiser*, December 22, 1851, gives the following account of this occurrence:

The U. S. Mail steam ship *Georgia*, Lieut. D. D. Porter, U. S. N., commanding, from Chagres by way of Havana arrived yesterday morning. The *Georgia* brings the California mails, three hundred passengers and \$1,500,000 on manifest. The officers report at least as much more in passengers' hands, supposed to be the largest amount ever brought by passengers. . . . The *Georgia* was detained three and a half days at Chagres, by heavy weather, which prevented the landing and receiving passengers and freight. The current ran out of the river so strongly that, after several ineffectual attempts to enter the river, it was found impossible to land there. Capt. Porter . . . ran the ship down to Navy Bay and landed passengers and cargo there. Mr. J. L. Stephens, the president of the Railroad Company, at first objected strongly to opening the road for travel, . . . as he feared the influx of passengers would interfere with the progress of the work. He finally consented, and for the first time, the passenger and freight train was run over the road. All the passengers of the *Georgia* outward, numbering about 700, with the cargo of the ship, went to Gatun by the railroad, and the homeward passengers, 850, and the mails and specie, came over the same route. . . . There had been a severe storm from the North West for two weeks at Chagres, attended with heavy rains, which caused a rise in the river of fifty feet more than usual, which was the heaviest freshet ever remembered to have taken place there.

The two steamship lines continued to advertise sailings "direct to Chagres," but as a matter of fact, took their passengers thereafter to Aspinwall [Colon] in Navy Bay.

One of the historians of the Panama Railroad¹⁴ also describes this event:

The weather was so tempestuous that, after several lives had been lost in attempting to effect a landing, they (the *Georgia* and the *Philadelphia*) were forced to take refuge in the harbor of Navy Bay. It was then proposed that, instead of waiting for fair weather in order to return to Chagres, the passengers should be transported over the railroad to Gatun, from whence they could proceed up the river in bongoes (small native craft) as usual. There was not yet a single passenger car on the road; an accident like the present had never been included in the calculations of the Company. Every objection was, however, soon overruled by the anxious emigrants, over one thousand in number, who were then disembarked and safely transported on a train of working cars to the Rio Chagres at Gatun. At about this time the affairs of the Company in New York looked very dark and unpromising. The first subscription of one million dollars of stock was expended, and the shares had gone down to a low figure. . . . Never since the commencement of the undertaking had its supporters been more disheartened; but on the return of the *Georgia* to New York, carrying news that the California passengers had landed at Navy Bay instead of Chagres, and had traveled over a portion of the Panama Railway, . . . the value of its stock was enhanced, and the steadfast upholders of the work were relieved from the doubts and anxieties that had well-nigh overwhelmed them.]

This day 20th Landed at Chagres which is situated on both sides of the river bearing the same name. Immediately at its mouth on the left bank as you enter a Promontory puts out as it were blocking up the mouth, upon the summit of which stands the ancient fortress Lorenzo, whose strong walls and cannon points seem well to protect the entrance to the town. Landed, took dinner, etc., found the eating no better than on board the ship.¹⁵ Everything has a peculiar

¹⁴ Otis, F. N.: *Illustrated History of the Panama Railroad*, etc. New York, 1862, pp. 32-33.

¹⁵ Autenrieth, *op. cit.*, p. 6: "Chagres is, as already stated, an unhealthy place; but it cannot be denied, that a great deal of the sickness prevailing here must be ascribed to the terribly bad food every one is compelled to eat. It is surprising, that a place connected with the United States by almost weekly steam communications, should be devoid not only of all comfort but even of necessary and digestible food."

stinking taste and smell. In fact there is a want here that cannot be made up, without which no food can be made sweet and no drink pleasant. This article is water, cool sparkling, ever glorious water. Have scarcely passed an hour since left N.Y. (unless asleep) but I have thought of this delicious and nature's only beverage. Like the convalescent, all thoughts center round the old oaken bucket that hangs in the well.¹⁶

After getting on board two boats and leaving them we secured a 3d and set out for Cruces a little after nightfall. Our boat was rowed by 3 natives and guided by a 4th. We passed on till 11 o'clock, arrived at the village Gatun, a native town built of Bamboo or Reeds. Miserable huts they are too. We had the rare pleasure of seeing a Native Fadango with a fair sample of their best music. Had seen all the performances of our Cotton and sugar farm Africans but never saw anything to compare with this most singular amusement by a most singular people on the banks of one of the most remarkable rivers in the world. The dancers with their partners performed a constant circle in pairs holding their bodies stiffly erect with a kind of diddling motion in imitation of keeping time. The center of this circle was occupied by the musicians. Two Flutes or rather Clarionets, for they were blown at the end. A small drum and Tamborine made of a dry gourd filled with dry corn.

Here also is a guard house with a few native soldiers in it. Four well armed Yankees would drive 50 of them.

This is the first stopping point above Chagres and consequently all the boats that started after the vessel landed are here. About 12 we all lay down in the boat which was as near the open air as could be, to be anything else. A miserable night indeed. At last the dawn came and gladly we hailed it.

21st. With the dawn, broke upon our view the shores, the hills, of the lovely Chagres river.¹⁷ Now for the first time we beheld the thick foliage and unending vegetation of the Tropical climate. Here are some of the richest, rarest and most beautiful views that nature in her glory can present. We paddled and looked with wonder and admiration at everything around us. Forest trees in full tide of growth with under vegetation as dense as space can admit, while the trees are overhung with all imaginary sorts and sizes of vines. The mistletoe too comes in for her share of life and support; from out the limbs of the great tree she shoots up in clusters full of life and peculiarity, seeming as independent of the tree in family resemblance as though she sat upon the lap of our common Mother. The Palm, Bamboo or Cane, Cocoa nut, Banana, Plantain, and bread-fruit are among its fruits, the Orange, Lime, etc. The warbling of the birds is sweet indeed; besides their plumage forms the most beautiful contrast of colours of all hues and their shape every peculiarity. The Poet might here well sing

¹⁶ Perhaps a reference to fever patients, still treated by many physicians at that time with "diluent drinks," which fail to slake the thirst. Probably Isaac himself, as an accompaniment of his disease, suffered continually several degrees of fever.

¹⁷ Otis, *op cit.*, p. 95: "... the Rio Chagres, which is at this point [Gatun] about fifty yards in width, and here makes a great bend, opening beautiful vistas through the dense forests up and down its course."

"Ever charming, ever new
When will the landscape tire the view?"

So the day passed in an extacy of vision.¹⁸

Tied up at a native Ranch with but little to eat and no place to sleep but our open boat. Some 200 or 250 lay tied up together at this shore and among others middle aged women and young ladies and children also.

This night the river rose 6 or 8 feet and the morning — 22" — dawned upon as sorrowful a looking set of people as imagination could well picture.¹⁹ All wet and cold, the current of the stream almost impossible to resist, full of drifting timbers, etc. We all put out (for Californians must not be discouraged at any thing) pêle mêle into the stream, sometimes jammed together in a huddle in our eagerness to beat, and carried down again many times, to my dread and fear. However, we worried along against it by bushing, poleing and rowing until dinner when the river had fallen 2 feet.

After dining we entered a portion of the river where it puts out into swamps consequently making great harbors for reptiles of all kinds belonging to the Amphibious family. We saw Alligators of all sizes under 6 feet long lying high up in the large forest trees and our boys amused themselves much by shooting at them as they passed along. This noon while ashore found great quantities *Asclepias Tuberosa* and the sensitive plant both of which were in full bloom and the latter in many places covered the ground.²⁰

Night comes on and we are in a rapid current; we undertake to cross the river and it drifted us down and almost carried us against a tree standing in the middle of the quickest water. Was much frightened and begged our captain to lay to and let us wait till morn, but he put out again and to my great joy made the turn. Then we landed at an old lady's where we could get nothing but stinking coffee and sea biscuit, 2 cakes for a dime and small cup of coffee for picayune, and besides a regular quarrel to get it for that. This lady has a very

¹⁸ Wortley, Lady Emmeline Stuart: *Travels in the United States etc. during 1849 and 1850*. 3 vols., London, 1851. Lady Emmeline passed over the Chagres Transit in 1850. Vol. 2, pp. 262-263, she says: "The river Chagres itself is beautiful: it winds and twists about like a brilliant serpent, most gracefully and changefully. The prodigious masses of vegetation pour down upon it, and seem as if they flung their glittering many-coloured chains on its bright waters to arrest its progress."

Letts, *op. cit.*, p. 19, describes the same region at daybreak: "The scene is indelibly impressed upon my memory. The trees on the margin of the river were of immense size, clothed to their tops with morning-glories and other flowers of every conceivable hue, their tendrils stooping down, kissing the placid bosom of the river. Birds of the most brilliant plumage were flying through the air, in transports of joy. All nature seemed to hail the sun with bursts of rapture. Everything appeared to me so new and strange . . . a scene of enchantment, like the dawning of a new creation."

¹⁹ The Chagres River is famed for sudden and extreme variations in volume, this forming, even today, one of the obstacles to a sea-level canal at Panama. It has been reported to rise as much as forty feet in one night.

²⁰ Wells, William V.: *Explorations and Adventures in Honduras, etc.*, New York 1857, p. 269, names this plant as "common in all the table and low lands of Central America, . . . rarely seen in such quantities as here. The vines formed complete mats and hedges for some distance along the river banks. . . . After remounting, I passed through thick mats of the sensitive vine, forming a kind of layer, extending, crust-like, a foot above the ground."

large farm and is said to own 1000 head of cattle. Slept again in the open boat and caught a severe cold.

23d. Travelled very luckily this day, delightful for weather and our lovely stream changed its character from deep and stoneless to shallow, gravelly and rapid. The country here presents a more agricultural appearance, fields of Sugar Cane and Bananas, some Indian corn.²¹

24th At noon arrived at Gorgona, the first point that we can debark from to Panama, but the road at this season of the year is much worse than the Cruces road on account of mud and water. Stopped here and forwarded the greater portion of our baggage at 8 cents a pound, distance 25 miles. One o'clock put out for Cruces; brilliant afternoon but very hot, being within 500 miles of the Equator.

5 o'clock arrived at the great point of debarkation for the land travel of the Isthmus [Cruces, 17 miles from Panama]. Some 300 were here ready for embarking in the morning.²²

Put up at the American Hotel; paid 2 dollars for supper, breakfast and a cot to sleep on. Here several had their Carpet-Bags rifled and my own was very near it but I happened to be awake and detected the thief under my cot and he slipped away. Morning dawned again; took breakfast and procured a mule to ride while all my comrades walked. We started about 9, the sun pouring down his greatest heat, but we soon reached the dense forest overhanging the road and forming a very fine awning through which the sun scarcely ever peeped his scorching rays. Road did I call this miserable attempt at a footpath? Do think the blue curtain of Heaven is not spread out over any thing so badly named, neither on the Moon, on the Earth, upon Jupiter nor any other planet. However we drove on against rocks, ditches, mudholes and all arrived 8 o'clock in the evening at Panama on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, covered with mud, worn out and sorely depressed in spirits, deeply lamenting the day we set out on this foolish journey. Washed off as well as we could and went to bed.

[Dr. Autenrieth²³ gives us a detailed picture of the Cruces road in 1851:

The Cruces road is shorter than the one at Gorgona by about two miles, but far worse to pass over. From Cruces to Cruz de Cardenas, the place where the two paths meet is certainly the worst and most fatiguing road we ever travelled. . . . It seems that long before the Spaniards came to the country, the rain had washed off at certain places the ground from the rock below, and particularly at such spots where, by the formation of the rock, a fissure was left. These places presented a solid foundation for the feet of oxen and horses during the rainy season, and were therefore selected for crossing, and by connecting the different gullies with each other, the so called Cruces road was established.

²¹ Jesuit Fathers are said first to have placed these fields under cultivation, about the middle of the seventeenth century.

²² Less than two hundred years before, and what a different picture Cruces offered! Morgan, the buccaneer, lured by the fabled wealth of Panama, determined to sack the city. In 1671, with 37 ships and 2000 fighting men, he set out from the West Indies, captured the castle-fortress of Chagres, and moved up the Chagres River. Cruces, abandoned by the Spanish troops sent down the Chagres to ambuscade him, was in flames when he reached it, and he and his soldiers, savage with famine, roasted the stray cats and dogs of the village and dined by its embers. Struggling on to the Pacific, he looted Panama after a pitched battle with the Spaniards.

²³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

In consequence of the continued passing of mules these gullies have been deepened, in some cases to a depth of about thirty feet, narrowing towards the bottom, which is at some places not over two feet wide. That through such defiles only one mule after the other can pass, is easily understood; and if two parties meet, one is compelled to turn back. . . . It is stated that F. Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, ordered the paving of this road, which was done with large round stones, sometimes a foot and a half in diameter. Since Panama sunk into insignificance, this pavement has been entirely neglected, and is now completely broken; and the big stones are lying loose and in great disorder, where formerly there was a pavement. . . . It is only astonishing that the mules are capable of passing at all over these loose heaps of round stones with a load on their backs. At the places where no pavement was needed, the rock is often excavated by the shoes of the mules in such a manner that a series of holes, sometimes more than a foot deep, have been produced, leaving a ridge of the rock between each hole. These are the most dangerous places for passing; the mule has to proceed with great caution, or he will fall.]

26" This is an old walled town built in old Spanish style. The houses have no glass windows, nor chimneys, having no use for either. The people are the dirtiest in the world.

It seems to be the calculation of all the people along this route genteelly to rob all the travellers that pass over the road, particularly on this Isthmus from one Ship to the other.²⁴

Remained here until 28" afternoon when came on board Steamship Tennessee.

29" Passed along very smoothly but morning of the 1st Dec. gave us quite

²⁴ A parallel picture is to be found in the *Rapport sur les Missions du Diocèse de Québec*, etc., No. 11, pp. 141-143, Québec, 1855, containing the report to his bishop of M. G. Huberdeault, Missionary Priest, who with six Sisters passed over the Nicaragua route in November, 1852, on his way from Montreal to Oregon. His letter, dated from San Francisco in November of that year, forms interesting reading, and I translate from his concise French the passages below:

"I hasten to inform Your Grace about our journey from New York to San Francisco. We had what one calls in California a short crossing; nevertheless we consumed in making it thirty days, which seemed to us at least as long as a year in Canada. . . . I will not go into the details of the thousand and one miseries which we had to endure on that long voyage; . . . all that was insignificant, in comparison with what awaited us on the Isthmus. On the sea we suffered a good deal, it is true, but at least we had no obvious danger to dread; while in crossing the Isthmus more than once I thought we would end by sharing the fate of the numerous victims whose bones are sown here and there, the whole length of that horrible transit. Certain it seems to me, Monseigneur, that if one had a fair idea of the sufferings and dangers to be surmounted on that route, few men would venture to undertake it. . . . We left the steamer to go up the river in flatboats, which we were often on the point of abandoning when the rapids became too dangerous. More than once, the frail craft, overloaded with passengers and freight, threatened to go to pieces in the rapids, or to founder, so that in addition to the danger of drowning, we had also the prospect of becoming the prey of the crocodiles which swarmed about us. . . . Add to that the embarrassment of finding ourselves so crowded together that it was impossible to find the least space for repose. Our only expedient when sleep overcame us, happy to be able to close our eyes a few minutes *à la belle étoile*, was the shoulder of a neighbor, more or less complaisant. . . . The Company does not feed the passengers crossing the Isthmus; everybody looks out for himself as best he can. But I arrive at the tragi-comic. . . . Imagine an immense herd of about a thousand mules, spent with fatigue and hard work, of which the best have been kept in reserve for transporting the baggage. Hardly had the passengers stepped ashore, than each rushed to choose his mount. Complete confusion resulted. . . . At last we gain the Pacific; we embark on the steamer, and are once more launched upon the sea. Thank God! We reach San Francisco, where we are spending some time to recuperate a little. . . . I should not like to speak any evil, but if we have not all died *en route*, it is not its [the Company's] fault. Those who like deceptions, tragi-comic adventures, hunger, thirst and wretchedness of all kinds, concealed behind the glittering advertisements of the San-Juan line, will fare like us, and will find none of these missing."

a blow. The sea threw our vessel from side to side, overthrew her breakfast table and the spray flew heavily across the upper deck, but it soon calmed off.

[December] 2d. Very pleasant day's sail but the forenoon of the 3d a heavy breeze came up from the northwest and continued to increase until 12 o'clock at night. The sea became perfectly terrifying and the vessel crossing the swells took water as high as the chimney. I was in the greatest agony of dread the whole time and do think shall never forget that day and night while memory lives. Felt very sure the whole must go down and all the accounts of dreadful shipwrecks I had ever read were constantly before me in all the horrors of reality. I thought of my dear Parents and brethren, of heartbreaking sobs of my Mother when I left her. . . .

The storm passed by and the winds were hushed but the sea rolled on for 12 hours like a heart made mad.

4'' Landed in Acapulco before sun up for the purpose of coaling, provisioning and watering for the rest of the trip.

This is a Mexican port and has one of the best harbors in the world, but small. It is perfectly hemmed in from the sea by mountains and the storms may rage and the sea foam outside while here all is calm and secure. Earthquakes are frequent here, this being a volcanic neighborhood. Many traders live here who exchange their goods and the products of the country with the travellers. All the curiosities and products of the Ocean are also kept here. At sunset our last gun was fired and the wheels revolved again; we quietly and majestically moved out through the narrow pass upon the wide, deep and mighty Pacific like a great conqueror after a victory.

On board this ship there are some 600 or 700 men the great majority of whom seem not to think a serious thought and ever fight and quarrel like lions over their food. This morning two of them had a severe fight at the table and I do say (every hour here is a week to me) that the sight was disagreeable enough to me to have made me go ashore if I could have reached it.

7'' Sunday, one month and one day from Pittsburgh, 6 or 7 days from San Francisco unless some misfortune should overtake us. A pleasant calm day and our vessel glides along like a lone Bird of the Ocean.

11 o'clock we arrive opposite the mouth of Gulf of California at the head of which we pass Cape St. Lucas. This is considered the most liable to storms of any point we have to pass.

One of our company is very sick, but improving, Wm. Mason. All have been fortunate in regard to health when one considers the exposure undergone in this travel.

Monday 8'' Sailed all night and greater part of the day through Gulf California. Passed Cape St. Lucas 5 o'clock. Changed our course nearly north.

Our vessel travels about 230 miles a day.

Tuesday 9'' Fine day but strong head wind all day. Lat. 25 at 12, 580 miles from San Diego, our next Anchoring point.

Wednesday 10" Strong head wind still. Saw a number of sperm whales and a whale ship in the distance, 4 of her boats down in pursuit of the school. I never expected to see such a sight. Our vessel still moves steadily on and if ever a miserable home sick soul fervently prayed for an arrival, it is I for the end of this journey. Thank God, without misfortune, we shall be at the end in 4 days more. Fool that I was to undertake such a hazardous soul tiring enterprise! Yet if I live to reach home again it will not be without its value for I shall know all the better how to appreciate a comfortable, happy condition.

11" Had a fine sail and landed in San Diego 9 o'clock at night to change the mail and get some provisions.

Spirits a little elevated with the hope of getting ashore in 2 days and nights.

12" Beautiful day at sea. Passed the Island of Cataline on the shore side and on shore opposite to it we see 2 of the highest mountains in Cal. perpetually covered with snow.²⁵

13" Close to the harbor of Monterey where we shall drop Anchor a short time. Only 80 miles from San Francisco. Shall reach it in 10 hours if nothing happens,²⁶ when my soul will feel it has accomplished one great feat, passed over the route to California safely. Thanks to the great dispenser of fate for his watchful care.

Thus abruptly, within sight of his goal, the record ends, as though expending his strength in the effort, accomplishment left him exhausted. And in truth, California's gift to this early son was a shaft of marble erected by the brother whose heart carried, until he died, the scar of Isaac's loss.²⁷

GEORGIA WILLIS READ.

²⁵ Probably San Antonio and San Bernardino, two of the highest peaks of the coast range, and snow-capped at that season.

²⁶ The *Tennessee* was apparently one day behind her schedule, perhaps delayed by the storm. Her arrival in San Francisco was chronicled in the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, Jan. 12, 1852, as follows: "The steamship Daniel Webster, of the Nicaragua line, arrived yesterday from San Francisco, bringing advices to the 15th December, ten days later than previously received. . . . The steamer Tennessee, with the New York mail to the 11th November, arrived at San Francisco on the 14th of December. The mail steamer Panama, which was to sail on the 15th, was in consequence delayed until the morning of the 16th, to give merchants an opportunity to reply to their letters. There was no arrival of any New York vessel at San Francisco from the 5th to the 15th of December."

²⁷ Even the reunion with George (upon his arrival in San Francisco on December 14, 1851) could neither save Isaac nor stay the progress of his malady. He died a few months later (April 6, 1852), and was buried in Sacramento.

AN IRISHMAN IN THE GOLD RUSH

THE JOURNAL OF THOMAS KERR

(CONTINUED)

TRIP UP THE RIVER TO ELIZA CITY

1st dayMONDAY 20th MAY 1850

I got 6 dollars worth of tools today, namely 1 Marling spike 50 Cents 1 piece of round Iron to straighten corrugations & hold to head of rivets 5½ dols. also paid 75 Cents Wharfage — We got out of the Shipping pretty well and reached Binecia about 10 oc its about 30 miles from Sanfrancsico and looks a rising little town; is on the left side of river going up, but we could not see much of the town being so late — the moon however enabeled us to see the shipping, & part of the town; this is the depot for the Navy — so there are some pretty fine vessels here some 2 miles above the Barracks we came to an Anchor for the night the Capt likes to drop anchor at night as there are so many Islands in the river — Up to this we see no Wood but Parched hills, burned by the sun and in some of the Valleys Vegetation appears to go on rapid. We dined with the Capt today are not sure but we may have to find ourselves on the passage—as Mr Guitaris [Guitierrez] & his friend dined by themselves, at 11 oc Mills & I brought our beds and streatched them alongside the poop and laid us down to sleep in the open air the Cabin was too small to hold us being only 4 births in it and scarcely room to turn about in it the schooner [Victoria] is only 40 Tons Burthen — she is Chartered by M^r Guitaris; at about 80 Dols per ton, there are only 2 sailors with the Capt & Mate — they appear right jolly fellows —

2nd dayTUESDAY 21st MAY 1850

Sept pretty well all night got up at 6 oc, and found ourselves on way — at 7 oc the New York of the Pacific^s Came in sight or at least we sighted it, but some few miles this side of it the Capt pointed out to us a sort of mud house one story high with a Varanda in front that had been occupied by [] the Great Indian Warrior⁹ — about 8 oc we passed by the New York of the Pacific — its on the right hand side of the River [San Joaquin] which leads to Stockton & the Southern mines, and just at the mouth of entrance — it consists 1 Wooden house 2 Storys high & 8 or 9 smaller ones 1 story each — With a dozen or so tents scattered about, and 10 or 12 Vessels lying in the creek at the town; the situation of the town is rather low and in the Winter season I would think it to be partly inundated; up to this we have had no Wood along

⁸ This place became known as Black Diamond after the discovery of coal near by. It is now within the limits of the city of Pittsburg. It was an ill-starred real estate project of Colonel J. D. Stevenson and a young army captain named William Tecumseh Sherman.

⁹ It is difficult to understand who could have been meant. Perhaps it was the famous Indian fighter, Joseph R. Walker, who now lies buried at Martinez.

side the river & in fact little at all in View, but saw great Quantities of Wild oats along the Banks; it was growing thin and appeared to have been eaten and tramped by Cattle, about 1 oc reached the entrance of The Slough or narrow part of [the Sacramento] river in which the current runs very rapid Its about 10 miles thro, we got on tolerably about half ways or so when we then had to Cast out a rope by aid of the Boat & tie it [to] trees along the Bank, and pull ourselves on by it, rather a slow way of sailing, lay too by the bank for all night at 7 oc —

3rd day

WEDNESDAY 22nd MAY 1850

Slept very well last night there fell no dew as in San Francisco; arose about 5 had a couple of Bowls Coffee at 6 with the Capt & mate before Mills or the others were out of Bed; So After this, we fell too again to Cast the rope out of the Boat again and drag on by it to Tri and get ourselves Toed out of this Blasted Slough We are making little progress however. I see 4 or 5 other vessels in the same predicament We are now working against a current of 5 knots per hour, so I guess this is easy work *but "I hardly think it"*. Schooners and Brigs are drifting down the river towards San Francisco stern foremost; the way we get along thro this is: a long rope is thrown into the Boat and fastened to a tree or old stump along side the River at some 200 yards from where the schooner is fastened by the "nose", the other end of rope is brought back to the schooner, in the Boat, and all hands pull on this rope till it be all Coiled in it is severe work My hands are Blistered pulling, the trees on each side the river are so high & close that there is scarcely a Breath of Wind to carry us against the flood, when we get to openings we have a little Breeze for a short time; the river here is not more than 60 yards broad, and as crooked as a Dogs hind leg. It would be impossible to describe the the trouble, and labor getting up this stream it is 10 miles long, all together this morning we had only 3½ miles to go to the head of it but we got on so slow we shant be at it this day —

For the first time I see great quantities of Muskeatos and annoying creatures they are, about twice the Size of our *Midge* but their bite more Venomous; towards night we lowered sail and fastened our schooner along side the Bank to a tree there to remain all night and immediately opposite I was much amused at seeing a Wattle and daub hut of rather rude architecture with some Bottles



Hotel on the Dam^d Slough

stuck in the window with the American flag sticking out of one end of house intimating I dare say of it being a grog shop, who would ever think of seeing the like in a perfect Wilderness; I saw one man

standing in the door, at 9 oc I stretched my bed Covered my face and went to sleep — which I enjoyed very much as I was fateagued pulling the rope all day; the China men we had on Board were so lazy that I believe if we never were to get out of the Slough they would not care much they must be a Lazy indolent set of fellows not to help us; and knowing it as much their interest as ours.

4th day

THURSDAY 23rd

I slept well all night there fell a little dew was awoke at 4 oc by the steam Boat Eldorado going to Sacramento City; Went to Bed again for an hour & a half, arose at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 5 had a cup of Coffee, and the Capt then made preparations for proceeding onwards; With much pulling and hauling on our drag line again we reached the head of the slough at 10 oc at which there are 4 or 5 Shaties [= shanties] of rude structure they are growing Vegetables on the side of the river; at this [point] the river gets wide say about 160 yards the trees not so thick, and consequently have a little wind; some of the sailors had to leave the forecastle last night and sleep on deck the muskeatoes so tormented them, about 7 oc in the morning saw for the first time The Humming Bird perching about from flower to flower extracting honey, its a beautiful little bird the smallest of the feathered tribe, not larger than a good hazle nut the feathers appeard of purple color, but I was not close enough to discus the splendour of the different shades; saw also 1 yellow Bird much like a Canary in size and feathers, I think it is one of them; abundance of Wild rose & everlasting sweet pea along side the Banks, growing in Great luxuriance; I must confess I'm glad to be out of that Blasted slough we were just 2 full days coming thro, which if it were not for M^r Mills exertion with that of mine we would not be clear of it for probably a week, this day exceedingly warm; But alas we only got about 300 yards above the top of the Slough when, the Current yet being so strong forced us to drop anchor least we should be drifted back again here the river is nearly 120 yards wide the top of slough is, when we meet the main river again as the former is but a Branch of main river and is of much shorter course, which is sufficient reason why it is preferred, we remain here all night expecting a fair wind by morning

5th Day

FRIDAY 24th MAY, 1850

Slept very well last night all the passingers complain sadly of how the Muskeatoes torment them I, cannot say, they annoy me much. We have a strong head wind this morning, which died away to a perfect Calm about noon, and here we remain all day, accompanied by a Barque and two or 3 schooners, awaiting a favourable gale But unfortunately there is no sign of the like. How I envied those on a steam Boat that went up the river in the morning and another going down at sun set. We have suffered much from the excessive heat of the sun. Gone ashoar for a short time Mills and 2 of the sailors saw a Snake 3 feet long.

6th daySATURDAY 25th

We are in the same Delema yet awaiting for a Breeze but no appearance how long we may be this way God only knows; we are nicely fixd burned up with the sun and eaten up by Muskeatoes, together with such a loss of our time; had I known we would be baffled thus, I should hardly go except by the steam Boat, about 4 oc we commenced to Warp up the stream again this we tried for an hour and a half or thereabouts. We made very little by it, and so left over, after Tea a Smart breeze took up but strange to say when we had our sails set and Anchor lifted it got almost calm so had to drop Anchor again and furled sails, about 10 oc the moon shone beautiful, being about full, another gale looked forward we soon put to our sail & lifted Anchor, and for an hour, we were at almost a stand still, one time we woukd drift Back the two lengths of the schooner, and again a slight breeze would come and drive us on at a slow pace as far, but latterly we found ourselves loosing instead of gaining wich made us drop our Anchor again and go to rest for the night. I am sorry I did not bring my Gun, as I Could shoot Ducks and Wild Pigeons, & thus keep the time from passing so heavily.

7th day.SUNDAY 26th MAY 1850.

I must confess I had been pretty much annoyed last night by those Blood-thirsty insects, "*Muskeatoes*," as I can Call them nothing else; for they appear to feed upon naught but by the extraction of human Blood, they are so ravenous, that when one commences if its not disturbed it will suck away till it busts; its a blessing they are not larger or we could not be able to live among them. I had been congratulating myself all along of not being touched by such pests, but I think it was 3 or 4 of the other passingers who brought their beds on deck alongside side mine and consequently induced the Muskeatoes to torment me too, Each side the river vines grow to any extent and the grapes are now beginning to form, what a magnifecent sight it must be when they are ripe; This morning we have a strong head wind which is Just as bad as a dead Calm I got into the Boat in the Afternoon Brought a bucket and soap with me and gave myself a clean wash from head to toe after which I felt very comfortable, and at the same time washed a shirt and pair of socks. "*(This is a fine Sundays work)*" "*But I hardly think it)*" Capt Mills & I went ashoar to look for a shot but unsuccessful, afternoon the wind setteled and not a breath of air scarcely. But I guess the Muskeatoes "aint asleep, the scenery about this is magnificent but stopping here so long dont pay well. Weighed 65 ounces of Gold for the Capt, there were some fine specimens among it; gone to bed about 8 oc had to rise out of it again for half an hour to shake off the Muskeatoes, and on going to bed again drew a pair of socks over my hands; — I scarcely ever saw any person in such a state as Mills is his hands and feet all in little lumps such as the sting of a nettle leaves, and they become so itchy that he sometimes is almost going to tear himself to pieces, or like one out of his sences. they are decidedly the greatest torments I ever witnessed.

7thMONDAY 27th MAY 1850

Had been very much annoyed last night and thro' the day by those dreadful pests of Muskeatoes: the Cabin is Crammed Chalk full when at Breakfast had to run on deck with my bowl of Coffee and piece of Bread, and at Dinner had to run on deck also with my plate and then finish Dinner, between those and the exposure to a Burning sun I must say we are miserable. God only knows how long we may be thus situated there is not the slightest appearance of wind: the Capt curses at a great rate, and being a Yankee he ushers out some new coined ones too; his expenses are he tell me 30 dollars per day;

At half past 6 P. M. we got under sail and I think we shall be out of this Cursed Slough, and get rid of the pests of Blood thirsty Vagabonds, that take such delight in extracting the last drop if possible; Sometime before we sailed Mills and I got the boat and sailed to the opposite side of river where 3 or 4 Yanecks [= Yankees] have setteled down to market Garden, we did not think much of what experience they show, in Gardening, but I like to see agriculture get into the Country even upon a small scale, the man we addressed seemed a respectable, and intellegent person, he had peas fit for Table asked 4 Dollars per lb for them, the turnips were a promising crop but had them much too close potatoes looked well but planted them rather quear in clusters of about 2 yards square, he had been mowing down weeds, the ground he intends prepairing for potatoes, he says it aint too late for them yet this chap has nearly half an acre under crop. Indian corn he has to the height of 3 or 4 feet — and also a winery plantation which seem to look well but very young, vines grow most Luxuriant wild here along the Banks of the river and will probably be grapes fit for pulling in another month. after 5 hours pretty good sailing the wind slacked, so we came to an anchor for the night.

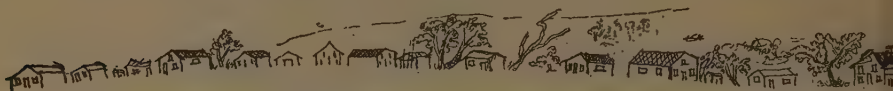
8thTUESDAY 28th MAY 1850

Slept very well last night had not been at all annoyed by the Muskeatoes; the night being rather cold they kept in the cabin. Got up at 4 oc and in half an hour after we were on our way. Sacramento City being 25 miles off; as we get along, I see many settlers squatting down by the side of the river and doing more or less at farming the following is a Diagram of one in



Rancho on the Sacramento River

particular that took my eye being made of Canvass. It will be observed that one window has Got a shash and glass in the other has neither. there are many rustic cottages by the banks, and at each house will generally be seen an empty Barrel or two, the river widens a little but not $\frac{1}{4}$ the width of the River Foyle; from about half past 10 till half past 12 oc we had another twist of Warping or dragging along by the rope; and there in the calm 5 or 6 vessels were lying, however we all managed to [get] under sail again. We passed here, a Barque called the *Ocean Bird* she passed us 4 days ago in the Slough; about 5 oc we passed a small Village by the side of the Sacramento river, Called Suttersvill being only 2 miles from Sacramento



[It is uncertain whether Kerr intended this to represent Sutterville or Sacramento City, but it is probably the former. A portion of the drawing in pencil does not show in the cut.]

city, and at 7 oc we got into the latter, we went ashore for an hour & about 9 oc we were under sail again; Young M^r Guitaris and his friend were nearly left behind ashore; as they did not meet the Capt at the time he appointed we should, to go aboard, so after waiting for them $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour, we started off to the schooner that lay some 80 yards out in the river. when I got aboard I took my Cornopeon thinking they might [hear] it, which they did, and called on us. One of the sailors & I went for them in the Boat, at this time the vessel was under sail & the Anchor nearly up, before we could overtake them again they were nearly a mile out of town, they had to lie too or we would not catch them

Now I shall describe the little I saw of Sacramento City. Its entirely built on a flat plain rather swampy ground & trees all around the town there are a few good streets but from the quantity of Stagnant Water lying under the houses & holes in the streets there is really a very Bad smell thro' the town, and I question very much but when the weather get somewhat warmer it will lead to pestilence;¹⁰ there are a great many Gambling houses in it and other places of Vice and folly which tend to lead people astray everything in provisions is more expensive here than at Sanfrancisco. Its really a pity the City is so low I like the situation of it very much if it were not for that, the river is about 200 yards across and I see 5 or 6 houses built there, and others putting up this they call Washington. I counted 70 vessels at Anchor here, in rows each side of the river; the land about this must from its appearance be very Luxuriant, and beautifully wooded I wonder Tillage is not more carried on, true a few small patches may be seen dug up about the Vicinity with a few vegetables on them but they are few indeed. We got on about 5 miles out of the City the wind got slack and Cast anchor for the night, sent a letter to Baird

¹⁰ Cholera raged that summer in Sacramento.

9th

WEDNESDAY 29

Beautiful morning we were under sail at 6 oc, and did not get farther than a mile when we struck upon a sand bank & were a couple of hours getting off it, by this time the wind got slack so we had to haul in by the side of bank and ly here till 3 oc we then got a pretty fair gale which carried us on at a slaping pace about 2 hours, when we were resolved to Warp again for about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour, after which we went like almost the Wind, and sometime about 10 we came to the mouth of the Feather river off the Sacramento; at the enterence of which are two small Towns, on each side of the river, Freemont, on the right hand side & Vernon to the left, there were a few vessels lying at Anchor, But the night being pretty dark I could not well say much what I think of this place About 2 miles from another Town called Nicholas [= Nicolaus] we got becalmed where we rested all night. But I should here mention, that the land by the river from Sacramento City to the mouth of the Feather, river is splendid much Superior to that between Sacramento & Sanfrancisco not so thickly wooded, fit to grow anything all Cleared ready for the plough I could pick out 1000 acres in many places quite dry and fit to grow onions I see many people have already squatted by the river side with their patch of garden before their Cabin doors, in which they have principally growing potatoes Cabbages Beef, & Indian Corn, While others prefer Cutting and making Hay to gardening and indeed some persevering yankees do both, I saw many places I would like much to Settlet in If I only had Capital & my dear Margt — without her I cannot be happy in any palace, much less Exilexed in Woods by the running streams of the Sacramento; I however wait patiently and pray God a day draweth nigh when we shall meet in joy; Saw Magpies just like those at home.

10thTHURSDAY 30th

Awoke at 4 oc got up had a cup of Coffee, & we set too then to Warp about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile to bring us to a turn in the river which if we were at we should have a fair wind instead as we have now a head wind we had much difficulty in reaching this spot as the ropes caught so often in snaggs, or in other words stumps of treess reaching from the banks a considerable way out in the river under the water — it was 10 oc when we reached it, and behold we had then a dead calm lay too by the bank had breakfast made; and had to wait till 2 oc before we got any sort of a Breeze, We got a pretty fair gale and passed The Village of Nicholas at 3 oc the following is a sketch I took of it as we passed by —

It is called Nicholas after the present owner of the property [Nicolaus Altgeier]; I think he is a [German] he lived among the Indians previous to the Conquest of this Country by the United States Government after which he claimed a great portion ground along this [river]. It is said he is a Tremendous Scoundril; he lives at present in this village [in] a Clay house 2 stories high pretty neatly finished with a Varanda in front; this river as yet is



Nicolaus

fully as wide as the Sacramento, but the land much dryer and superior every way, there are a few settlers. O But I saw many places I took a fancy to, the scenery is magnificent along [the river].

11th

FRIDAY 31st

Morning pretty fine, but why should I speak thus as in the Summer Season, its always fine weather here had little or no wind so we warped a Couple of miles & came to a village called Plumis (!) a very pretty place for a town



Plumis

[The spelling is Kerr's]

I here insert a sketch of it, & tho its but very indifferently executed yet it shows clearly what it is at present. I like the appearance of this place very much Its on dry ground the houses are few but much superior to any in the villas by the river as yet; we were becalm^d about here for a couple of hours, and then joined the Warping again; which we continued till 7 oc, We then caught a little gale, which appears to do well for us. I must say we put in almost a full days warping, and believe me we are all pretty tired Charley one of our sailors had nearly his eye put out by a rotten branch that broke as he was tying the warping rope to a tree, beautiful scenery along the river, and a few squatters here & there, the Gale we got at 7 oc (even) carried us along well and at 12 oc Came to anchor for the night; But I should say that about 9 oc we Passed The Hawk [= Hock] Farm, the residence of Capt Sutter We enquired off two or 3 by standers on the bank the Distance to Eliza, & the reply was 4 miles by land & 5 by water. Sutters House is on the left hand side of the river coming up. I am sorry it was not light that I might take a sketch of it,¹¹ its appearantly a mud or Douby house very large one s[t]ory high & close to the river few trees near it but I saw a number of young quicks¹² which appear to have been lately planted. Some 200 yards from it a lot of Indians have some sort of Huts erected, as if with hurdles;¹³ I must say I

¹¹ A sketch of Sutter's residence at Hock farm may be found in this *Quarterly*, Vol. VI, facing p. 239, but it is a later frame house and not the adobe referred to by Kerr.

¹² Probably cypress or some other hedgy plant.

like Sutters taste in the selection of his residence, he did not pick upon the worst part of the River; those Indians work like Niggars for him.

12th SATURDAY JUNE 1st 1850

ELIZA CITY

When morning came we found ourselves $\frac{1}{2}$ mile above Eliza, so got down to it in quick time; we learned on arriving that M^r Guitaris came yesterday on a Steam Boat and went off this morning to Marysville some 2 miles distant; and not expected till evening. — We cannot set to work till he comes, the China men are sawing trees to place under the foundations of their houses; Now for a description. I would give a sketch of it but cannot see it from the vessel and on land its very much scattered and irregular I may in a future time sketch it, there are about [] houses, & [] Tents most of which are rather a rude construction two Doctors stoars, in which are mixed up a few medicines with Barrels of pork flour Picks shovels Gold washers Blankets Tin pans & Several other sundry articles all of which are in a round tent very badly strung, there is another Chap has, Out side a small tent printed in letters about 2 feet long each AUCTION & COMMISSIONER & then he stops, I peeped in and saw the Contents to be Iron pots Gold Whashers a lot of Miners Boxes stowed away together with a parcel of Books on a shelf and I suppose he does a little on his own acct in the grocery line; The Shambles will be seen under two trees and a pole streatched across from one to the other, on which hangs 4 small pieces of very indifferently Butchered beef, there are Certainly two or 3 good houses, here the best is the Sutter House, a sort of restorant & lodging house this in the course of some time may be a fine town as there are diggings within 12 miles of it, and teams of oxen trade to & from every day, with provisions I see one chap putting up an Iron House 60 by 24 feet the Alcdas office is held in [a] Canvas house about 15 feet by 12; this is certainly a rum place, but a good situation.¹³ Sun is very warm here in the middle of day & muskeatos torment as much nearly as at the slough; helped the Capt to discharge part of the Cargo — got the Greater part out, every thing is enormously high; I see a painter lettering a sign, and for large ornamental letters he charges 6 dols per & common block 2 dollars each letter this I guess is a high ticket. For the loan of a cross cut saw they charge per day 5 Dols. — I often heard it said at home, that there's nothing for nothing in Arden, But faith its the same case in Calafornia I never heard of anything so ridiculous as those last charges. I see snow yet on the mountains behind the Youba Mines

[TO BE CONTINUED]

¹³ Tules on a framework of willow twigs.

¹⁴ Eliza City, named for Captain Sutter's daughter Eliza, was founded by the Kennebec Company, which had purchased the land from Sutter. Because of temporary obstructions in the Feather River below Marysville it was advertised that the "City of Eliza" lay at the head of navigation. This did not prove to be the case and the town was already passing into decline upon Kerr's arrival. An entertaining account of the place may be found in Heinrich Lienhard's *Californien unmittelbar vor und nach der Entdeckung des Goldes*, Zurich, 1900.

SPANISH VOYAGES TO THE NORTHWEST COAST IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

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CHAPTER XI (Continued)

FATHER ANTONIO DE LA ASCENSION'S ACCOUNT OF THE VOYAGE OF SEBASTIAN VIZCAINO

CHAPTER XV, *in which is treated of how the Kingdom of California is not connected with that of New Mexico, and in which the reasons are given to prove it.*²¹¹

The discerning reader of this discourse will have noticed that he has not seen, read or even had any certain indication that they had either seen or been at any river of importance. This seems to be an extraordinary case and one never observed in a distance of 900 leagues of coast followed, such as there are between Cabo de San Lucas, that is, the Punta de California, and Cabo Blanco and Rio de Santa Inez, which those in the *Fragata* reached. It does not seem to me that there can be no rivers in such a long extent of country, in which there are so many mountains and sierras, so high that during most of the year they are covered with snow. It may be that these are so copious that they empty into the ocean through those arms of the sea noted in this account, which entered the country and which we did not explore, just as the Rio Guadalquivir which passes by Seville is not recognized when it empties into the sea at San Lucar de Barrameda. If perhaps no river of size enters the sea by such ports, it must be that they do so in other places. As they do not find a passage because of so numerous and such high mountains, they naturally seek lower valleys and through them run to the sea. As the mountains towards the Sea of California are lower, I consider it certain that they empty there. Thus ancient maps and even modern ones now in use display a large *ensenada* of the Sea of California and copious rivers flowing into it at its end and along its sides, but they do not give any place to the Strait of Anian as I pretend to do between the lands and kingdoms of New Mexico and the Californias.

I hold it to be very certain and proven that the whole kingdom of California, discovered on this voyage, is the largest island known or which has been discovered up to the present day, and that it is separated from the provinces of New Mexico by the Mediterranean Sea of California, which some call the "Mar de Cortés" because he was the first to discover it, and is between such great kingdoms. Others call it "Mar Vermejo," on account of the reddish appearance of the water, as I mentioned at the beginning of this account. At the end of Chapter III, I said that between the Islas de Maçatlan and the Punta de la California there was an arm of the sea more than fifty leagues wide, and that this entered between the two lands towards the north and northwest. This is what we call the "Mar de la California." A person who has navigated it as

far as 29° has told me that it is almost as wide there as at the beginning, and that he did not see its end.

The conquerors of New Mexico under the command of the Governor, Don Juan de Oñate, once went from where they were settled to discover the land towards the west.²¹² Captain Gerónimo Marqués, a person very competent, truthful, and worthy of all credit, and well-versed in the affairs of the provinces of New Mexico, accompanied him. He wrote an account of this expedition which he made with the General to discover the country and the Sea of California, which I append here in his own words.

We departed from our towns in the latitude of 37½°, and after marching almost two hundred leagues to the west, and having passed the Moqui towns in the latitude of 37° at eighty leagues from our camp, we reached the Río del Tiçon, where we took the altitude of the sun, and found ourselves to be in 36½°. ²¹³ We followed the course of the river, which runs towards the south, and in so doing reached the sea in a distance of about thirty leagues. At the entrance of this river into the sea, a very remarkable port is formed which is in the latitude of 35°. ²¹⁴ Here there is a large spacious bay, and in the southern part of it there is a river called "Coral," which runs from the north and enters the bay in the latitude of 35°. ²¹⁵ In this Puerto del Tiçon we found some large pearl-oyster shells, and had information by signs from the natives there that the pearls which had grown in those shells were as large as good-sized hazelnuts. They also made signs that in an island near by in the middle of the sea there was a noted large town, of which an Amazon Indian, half giantess, who wears on her breast a very precious plate of pearls and who is accustomed to take them ground up in her drinks, is queen. ²¹⁶ These Indians said there were many pearls in all that sea, pointing to the south, and that these and the pearl beds extended towards the north for a matter of thirty-five leagues, but that beyond that there were none, the greatest quantity being found around the island of the Amazon Queen. The sea which we looked at seemed to be very wide, as we saw neither land nor mountains on the other side, not even the island where the Queen lived, about which the Indians told us. ²¹⁷ We considered the sea to be beyond all doubt the same as that of California, because its whole coast runs from northwest to southeast.

In the latitude of 39°, ten leagues inland from the coast of this same sea, they told us there was a lake which they call "Laguna de Oro," where the Indians collect quantities of large grains of gold and that the lake is all surrounded by many towns. ²¹⁸ The Río del Tiçon is well settled on both banks with people and towns, whose king is Rey Coronado, who wears a crown of gold. ²¹⁹ They acknowledge vassalage to him and pay him tribute with the gold taken out of the lake just mentioned. In all the country there is plenty of food, as it is fertile. It is very pleasant and of good climate.

The Indians made a sketch showing that the country from the lake to where this Rey Coronado lived was all full of large towns, from which all the gold the inhabitants extracted was brought to him. ²²⁰ It is a country plentifully supplied with food and cattle, much game on the wing and in the forest, and various other animals. The Indians also told us that the seacoast makes a turn around the land towards the east, as they sketched it as entering the land. They do not show any end to it, but say that it is very wide and that they do not know how to place any end to it. We consider it certain that this is the Sea of California, which runs on between the two lands of California and New Mexico to a communication with the ocean of the north by the strait which they call Anian. All the coast and the country is very rich, is very well inhabited, and has a good climate and pleasing vistas.

Following the coast of the sea from this lake towards the north, we reached a rugged place where we found many metals of all kinds and colors. ²²¹ We made no assay of them, to avoid stopping and to continue our journey. All the people of these towns which we saw are docile, affable, and of good demeanor, considering that they were so many and we, not more than twenty-four all told, were so few. They divided their food with us, and presented us what they had with love and good will. We did not see the lake or its people, but the Indians who provided us with food told us that they were more corpulent than they were, although they themselves were very much so, and that they wore clothes and were valiant and warlike.

Concerning the gold found and taken out of the lake, it is an indisputable business, as they made an unmistakable demonstration of it. They say that they dig it out of the rivers, finding it among the sands when it rains; then they collect this and wash it, just as we do, and in order to make us understand that they collected, smelted, and refined it, they made a little furnace like ours and showed us that in that they brought it together with fire. ²²²

About the pearls there is no doubt, for we consider it certain that it is all one sea and one coast to the Californias, and I hold that they are much larger and much richer than those of California.

As far as the silver is concerned, I also affirm that it exists in the island of the Amazon, or giantess, because the Indians have a name for it, and if they see it among other metals they recognize it. They say that the Amazon Queen possesses it, and that they bring it from the coast to the west in some boats they have, in which they navigate from one place to another. From this it appears that they bring it from the land of California.²²³ This is what I saw and ascertained in the course of our last journey, which we made with the Governor, and is the truth and in order that it may have more credence, I sign it with my name.

Gerónimo Marqués.

This is what the Captain, who is said to be a very truthful man, sent me. He also told me that a few days before leaving the camp, where the Spaniards were settled in New Mexico, to come to the City of Mexico to give an account to the Viceroy of what was happening there, almost two thousand Indians had come to the camp, who said they were from the Kingdom of Quivira, and had journeyed twenty-eight days to ask them to come to teach them the faith which the Spaniards practised and to live among them in their country, which was a rich and prosperous one. They came from the direction of the north and northwest.²²⁴

From all related in the account which this Captain gave me, you can easily understand that California is an island and that the sea which separates it from the land of New Mexico is the same as the Boca de la California and a continuation of it, and goes on to communicate with the ocean of the north by the Strait of Anian, and with the sea which surrounds the country of Cabo Mendocino. I am more confirmed in this opinion by the coming from Quivira of those Indians, who always traveled by land and from the direction of the north and northwest. Accordingly, I assert that the Kingdom of Quivira is a country immediately contiguous to that of New Mexico, and that the entrance of the ship which explored and discovered the Strait of Anian, was close along the country on the side of New Mexico, and that after finding that large river, they entered it and went to the City of Quivira, as stated in the first chapter of this account. Therefore one clearly gathers that Quivira is in the region corresponding to New Mexico, and not in the Californias, and furthermore that the Rio de Santa Inez, which the *Fragata* reached in 43°, as related in Chapter XI of this account where I said that the land and the seacoast turn to the northeast, is a very different one. That is the proper direction for the coast to trend, making a turn to come and join the inside coast of the Kingdom of California and be the same thing. Thus the two seas come to join, and together enter by the Strait of Anian to communicate with the North Sea, through which one can sail to Spain.²²⁵

In Chapter VII, in treating of the Baia and Puerto de las Once Mil Virgenes, I related how the Indians of that country had explained that there were some people inland who wore clothes and carried arms and harquebuses, and I there came to the conclusion that these might be some of the soldiers of New Mexico. As the Indians who were almost on the same meridian could very easily have news of them, and as they have canoes with which they sail on the Mediterranean

Sea of California and pass from the island of the Amazon to the mainland of California, from which they say they bring the silver for the Queen, as related by Captain Marqués,²²⁶ it is not difficult to believe that these soldiers were those of New Mexico. California is narrow and the sea is wide, fifty leagues at the most, although opposite other places such as Sinaloa it is only thirty, and farther up it must be less. Therefore it would be easy for those of California to trade and communicate with those of the Rio del Tigon and others on that coast. In spite of all this, however, I persuade myself that it was some nation living towards the north which had come to settle there, or which had come down from the Kingdom of Anian, or from that of Great Tartary, or those of another nation called Muscovites, subject to the Tartars. It might even be that they were other foreigners who had come to settle there, as in New France, the most northern part of Florida. In order to settle this question, it will be very wise for His Majesty to have all this arm of the sea explored, something very easily done and at little expense, and to order some settlements of Spaniards to be made in California to preach the Holy Evangel to the Indians, and to enjoy the great riches of that kingdom. How this can be done I shall discuss in the following chapter, using as a basis the information I have about the state of that kingdom, which, as I have stated, I have seen and all of which I have surveyed.

CHAPTER XVI, *in which is treated how advisable it is to pacify and settle the Kingdom of the Californias, and how this could be done at little expense and with the greatest speed.*

The grandeur, length and width of this Kingdom of the Californias, the many people there, and their docility, making it easy to teach them the mysteries of our Holy Catholic faith, has been fully seen in all the course of this account, for they received us with love and gave us good treatment in whatever part we reached. I consider that they would easily accept our holy faith. The great riches it promises in pearls, gold, silver, and amber must also have been observed. None of this can be enjoyed if the affairs of that kingdom remain in the state in which we found them, and the great expenses which have been incurred will come to naught, unless His Majesty endeavors to pacify, conquer and settle it with Spaniards, so as to plant the Catholic Church there and preach and teach the Holy Evangel to the natives. This is the duty of His Majesty, and I therefore declare that in justice and charity he is under an obligation to undertake it. Besides this good work, Our Lord, Jesus Christ, would receive the lordship of a new kingdom as great, rich, and extended as has been seen. Concerning the use and management of the riches which it contains, time will tell. It is very easy to settle and pacify this kingdom by the method I shall here set down, that is, for the account of His Majesty and at his expense, for in this, success, which cannot be looked for if not so carried out, entirely consists, judging from the experiences already attained. Furthermore, it could not be so done with a good conscience, as set forth in the books and treatises of the bishop of Chiapa, Don Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, or Casaus, of the Order of Santo Domingo, to

whom I refer. He treats these points with singular learning, and is very deserving of high esteem and of having his doctrine followed.

The nearest and most suitable place in which to make the first Spanish settlement, it seems to me, is Cabo de San Lucas at the so-called "Punta de California." It is in the latitude of $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, underneath the Tropic of Cancer, and is a healthful place, with many things suitable for the purpose. It is but fifty leagues across the Mediterranean Sea of California, which others call "Mar Rojo," from the Islas de Maçatlan to this point. This sea, as I have explained in other places, extends to the Strait of Anian by which there is a communication with the ocean of the north. It contains in itself much riches and on its coast on both sides there are many pearl beds, and in the mountains very rich mines of gold and silver, and there is much amber. This sea must be all explored, as a very great increase in his royal revenue must come from it to His Majesty, as I shall point out farther on. The first Spanish town can be laid out close to the Baia de San Bernabé, in which there is a good harbor for ships, and very near the beach a lake of sweet water, and another of very good salt deposited from the sea water which enters it. Here good salt works can be made. At the point or entrance to this bay on the Cabo de San Lucas itself, there is a very high hill, on which a castle could be built to defend the port and its inhabitants, and which, with its sentinels and lookouts to overlook both, could make the sea and land safe. It is very advisable that this be so done. Around about are very good plains and fertile fields, covered with many trees, in which very fine crops can be grown, and gardens and ranches to breed and keep cattle can be made. If the Indians are treated well, they will assist in whatever is necessary, as they are numerous, docile, and peaceable, and will remain so as long as they receive good treatment.

The method which can be adopted to pacify and settle this country is easy and inexpensive. Three large flat-bottomed *fragatas* can be purchased in Panama or in Realejo (on the coast towards Peru in the South Sea) of greater burden than can be found or built here, and which would be cheaper and better, and built much more quickly than in any other port on the coast. These should be equipped in Acapulco with all things necessary, sails, tackle, arms, and food, and the men necessary for the voyage, and for steering them. From Acapulco, by coasting along in sight of land they would take these to the Puerto de Salagua, that of Navidad, or that of the Islas de Maçatlan, where they could take on board the soldiers and men who are to go on this conquest or pacification of the Kingdom of the Californias. In this port everything necessary to make a settlement in that kingdom could also be embarked, such as cows, calves, and young bulls. These by their increase would multiply and provide an abundance of cows, yearlings, and oxen for sustenance and for working the land. They should also take mares and horses, rams and sheep, goats and pigs, all of which in two days' sailing from Maçatlan could be transported to the Cabo de San Lucas and put in California. By doing this the country could be filled in a short time with animals, and the settlers would have something to eat. With 200

men, who should be both good soldiers and sailors and of good praiseworthy habits, the kingdom could be pacified and conquered. If among these soldiers there were some artisans in trades necessary to the community, His Majesty should order the tools necessary to exercise his trade or art to be given to each one so that they might teach the natives. They could make their first settlement at the Cabo de San Lucas, as I have stated. Here all can make their headquarters, some setting up pearl fisheries, others working mines, others making gardens, and others sowing crops of all kinds of seeds which will produce very well, as the country is of very good disposition and a better climate, and there are many Indians who if treated with affection will render every assistance and be glad to learn the trades which may be taught them. With this the settlers would in a few years have everything that was necessary.

With the pearl fishing, the fifths from the mines, and the amber which is found on those shores of the sea, His Majesty can very soon have great returns, with which not only will the expenses which have been or may be incurred in making the conquest, pacification and conservation of this kingdom be repaid, but he can also pay what he owes from these riches and the augmentation of his royal fifths and revenue, as these will be so greatly increased that he can do so out of their superabundance. I believe that in all his western possessions he has none which can be of greater benefit than this, nor yield more profit in a few years. All of this can be secured at a very moderate expense, if the method be followed which I have indicated and shall explain farther on.

While the settlement is being made at the Cabo de San Lucas, and affairs are being arranged as above indicated, the captain under whose charge the exploration and conquest may be, can send the two *fragatas* with fifty or sixty men, thirty in each, to explore the whole Sea of California on both sides as far as the latitude of 42° . Those who go in them should be very careful and diligent in making a thorough investigation of all the ports, *ensenadas*, bays, rivers, and islands on the coast and in such parts as may be allotted to each, and they should investigate and find out what towns, Indians, riches, and other things there might be on the land, as it is very important that full information be obtained about everything. The *fragatas* should join each other in the latitude of 40° to exchange information about what each one had discovered and seen, and both should then proceed carefully to ascertain whether that sea communicates with the North Sea by the Strait of Anian, and the locations of the Puerto del Rio del Tiçon, the Isla de la Giganta, the City of Quivira, the Laguna del Oro, and the Rey Coronado, the account of which by Captain Gerónimo Marqués I inserted in the last chapter. By this means it will also be ascertained what people those are who wore clothes and ornaments, of whom the Indians of the Baía de las Virgenes and of the Puerto de San Diego gave an account, as set down when I treated about these. This duty is of the greatest importance and can be performed with the smallest cost and in a short time, once the appropriate time for the voyage be known, something experience will soon demonstrate to those observant in such matters.

The third *fragata* could, as I have stated, be occupied in transporting people, food, and cattle such as calves, cows, young bulls, mares, horses, and sheep, rams, goats, pigs and other animals, of which there is a great plenty on the coast and in the country of Culiacan, Maçatlan and Compostela. With this all the kingdom could be settled with ease, and the settlers could enjoy comfort and be of greater service and benefit to His Majesty than in other conquests which we have seen in New Spain. The reasons besides those mentioned which convince me that the first settlement should be made at the Cabo de San Lucas, and that the two *fragatas* should be sent from there to explore all the Sea of California, are the following: first, the nearness of the Puerto de Maçatlan to the Punta de la California, not more than fifty leagues, and the fact that from that coast all the food supplies and necessities for the settlement, as stated, can be transported with very great ease. What would be necessary can be brought from Mexico to Maçatlan by land, perhaps a hundred and fifty leagues of good road, well settled with Spaniards and many ranches. The soldiers and settlers can go by land to that port, and embarking there can in two days of sailing reach the Punta de las Californias, the most convenient place which can be found for the settlement and pacification of that kingdom. Another reason is that the ships coming from the Philippines, which are in the greatest need of men and food when they reach this place, can obtain here what is necessary, and also take refuge here for safety if they receive news that enemies are waiting on the coast to plunder them. If they should be in bad condition and the men should be sick, they could assist here in rendering every relief. The third reason is that the ships which proceed from Peru to New Spain by the new course now in use and who come in sight of this coast in forty days, can take port at the Cabo de San Lucas, where they could receive information of what was going on and could sell what they brought. If the city which should be built be one of trade, such a communication would be good for everybody.

The city to be built here has to be as they say, the *Plaza de Armas* for the conquest and pacification of the whole kingdom. From there all those destined to make other settlements therein must depart, for which time, necessity, and interest will open the door. By this sea the ordinary supplies which are provided for the account of His Majesty for the provinces of New Mexico can be sent much more quickly than by land, and at much less expense than up to the present has been done. If Our Lord, Jesus Christ, should be pleased that the City of Quivira, the Kingdom of the Rey Coronado, the Island of the Amazon Giantess, and the other cities and great towns in New Mexico should be discovered, the safest traffic with these would be by way of this Sea of California. In thus frequenting it, the great riches which it contains of pearls and amber, and the silver of the kingdom itself, would be enjoyed.

In the province of New Galicia, the coast of Culiacan and of Topia, there are many people who desire to see California settled in order to move there with their property and cattle. If a passage be given to them, and if His Majesty

should make them the same grants he has made to other conquerors and settlers in new kingdoms, there will be sufficient to settle the whole kingdom at their own expense. Thus the natives could be instructed in the matters of our Holy Catholic faith and receive the holy baptism, in this way securing the glory for which they were created. The Cabo de San Lucas having been settled with a good city, as stated, they can from there go on making other settlements in such places as may seem convenient and as time shall indicate, and if His Majesty should order an instruction and treatise to be observed which I composed about the method he should pursue in the conquest of these new kingdoms, I think that all this great kingdom can be pacified very peaceably in a very short time, and from there an entrance can be made to the Kingdom of Anian, and from there to Great China, and Great Tartary, to all of which the Holy Evangel could be preached and all could be reduced to our Holy Catholic faith. Thus His Majesty could come with great ease to be king and supreme emperor of all the world with a good and quiet conscience, if he observes in all respects what is contained in my treatise. I beg whomsoever reads this account, for the love of Our Lord, Jesus Christ, and his most precious passion, to commend to him the conversion of so many souls, and to me to solicit of him this great good for them, in which I am certain our most loving Jesus would be much pleased, because he tells us in his Evangel "Pray Our Lord of the harvest to send workers to cultivate the vineyard." All that I relate herein I saw with my own eyes, and to confirm its truth, I sign it with my own name. In this New Spain. This copy agrees with the original in my possession.

FRAY ANTONIO DE LA ASCENSION.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XI

CARTOGRAPHICAL NOTE

One general map was made showing the results of the voyage, possibly even two, besides the small charts reproduced in this chapter. The official one was sent to Spain with the accounts of the expedition, and probably passed into the Casa de Contratacion, where it suffered the same fate as other maps in that institution. Father Antonio de la Ascension, perhaps in conjunction with Bolaños, also made one, whether immediately after his return or not is uncertain. In F, he says, "I wrote an account and sketched the country, with the directions, the coasts, and the latitudes to serve as a sailing chart for that coast, and a copy of it was sent to His Majesty." As he then refers to a *Breve relacion* which he had made later, it seems that his map had been forwarded with the original accounts.

The small plans or charts of the coast were combined into one by Martin Fernandez de Navarette, and published by him in Madrid, 1802, in the atlas to his *Relacion del viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana*. This map is not graduated, and although it has a scale, there is no means of determining what

that scale represents in degrees, nor can we deduce this by reference to the original plans, as six different ones are employed in those and a number of the plans have none whatever. As a consequence, his map does not inspire us with any great degree of confidence as an accurate representation of the originals. The longitudinal distance between Cabo Mendocino and Cabo San Lucas has the appearance of being too great for the latitudinal distance between those two points. This is only what might be expected, however, as the original plans gave the coast line too much of a northwesterly trend.

There is no evidence available that either the small plans or maps sent to Spain with the accounts of the expedition were used to rectify the charts used on the Manila-Acapulco route. Unfortunately, no such chart made during the seventeenth century has yet been found, but the use afterwards made of the Bolaños-Ascension *derrotero*, or sailing directions as we would call it, warrants us in believing that any chart in use must have conformed in general to those set out in that document. This, at least, would be a fair inference from the fact that the *derrotero* was copied almost word for word and with only trifling corrections in the *Navegacion especulativa y practica*, published in Manila, 1734, by Joseph Gonzalez Cabrera Bueno. As this work was intended to be a guide for navigators, it may be also reasonably inferred that the Bolaños-Ascension *derrotero* was the only one of that route in existence at the time. Although Gonzalez had made more than one voyage between Manila and Acapulco, he made very few changes in this, and those mostly on the coast of Mexico. In a previous chapter, however, he had inserted some general remarks on the course from Manila to Acapulco to which he added some information which had evidently been obtained since Vizcaino's time. Although he did not correct the latitude of Pt. Conception as given by Bolaños, he changed that of the Isla de Cenizas, which was certainly Vizcaino's San Marcos. He also corrected Bolaños' statement that this island was twelve leagues from land to one reading two leagues from land, which is nearer its actual position, and from this island south he made many corrections in the Bolaños latitudes, lower ones being ascribed to almost every place named. His retention throughout, however, of Bolaños' latitudes from Cenizas north raises a doubt whether any new observations had been made on that part of the coast since Vizcaino's time.

The numerous references in the course of the investigation of Alvarez Serrano to maps made by Father Antonio indicate that he had come to be accepted as an authority on the geography of the west coast. He even made maps of the gulf, none too accurate, for the use of the pearl fishers. A very crude sketch of one of these found in 67-3-27 among the documents of the Alvarez Serrano investigation is herewith reproduced. If we may judge from a remark by Esteban Carbonel in the account of his voyage among these documents, it was made for Francisco de Ortega, who financed his expedition to the peninsula after pearls in 1631. There is also some circumstantial evidence that Father Antonio had previously furnished a map to Nicolas de Cardona and Juan de Iturbi for

their expedition up the gulf in 1615. One of Iturbi's ships which had been sent south by him was captured near Zacatula by Joris van Speilbergen, October 26, while raiding the west coast of Mexico, and a map may have been found on board which was afterwards used in Holland for the vignette on the engraved title-page of the various editions of Herrera's *Descripcion de las Indias*, published in Amsterdam in 1622 by Michel Colin. The one which Cardona himself attached to his manuscript written between 1627 and 1632, now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, is very similar to this, and while he does not say that Father Antonio made it, yet he believed in Father Antonio's theory that California was an island and entered into an elaborate argument to prove that he was right. This vignette in Herrera's work is usually stated to be the earliest to show California as an island, but this is rather misleading. What appears on it is a very long narrow strait connecting the upper end of the gulf with the sea to the north. The strait is so narrow that it looks more like the continuation of the Colorado River to a connection with another river which flows north, a peculiarity even more marked on Cardona's manuscript map. The strait, if it can be called such, is entirely unlike what one would expect to find from reading Father Antonio's account of his Mediterranean Sea of California. This may possibly have been his first conception, as his account in its present form was not written until after he had obtained the information embodied in it regarding Oñate's expedition. In the accounts of the pearl fishing enterprises up the gulf, from that of Vizcaino in 1596 to that of Ortega and Carbonel in 1631-32, nothing can be found to furnish any warrant for the idea that there was any connection between the gulf and the ocean to the north. Not one of them reached even the head of the gulf.

In 1620 Father Antonio wrote the *Breve relacion* known here as C and accompanied it with a map, which is not now to be found in the archives in Seville or in the Biblioteca Nacional. In London in 1622 a *Treatise of the North-west Passage to the South Sea, through the Continent of Virginia and by Fretum Hudson*, and signed by H. B. (that is, Henry Briggs) appeared, attached as an appendix to the *Declaration of the State of the Colony and Affairs in Virginia*. In the course of his treatise, Briggs states that California is now found to be an island, stretching from 22° to 42°, "as may appear in a Map of that Island which I have seene here in London, brought out of Holland." No evidence has yet been found that Briggs made a map to accompany this treatise, but when a revised edition of it appeared in 1625 in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, it was accompanied by a map on which the following appears: "California sometymes supposed to be a part of ye westerne continent, but scince by a Spanish Charte taken by ye Hollanders it is found to be a goodly Ylande." This chart is apparently the one referred to by Briggs in 1622, and recalls to us the lost map of Father Antonio. It is certainly a copy of one of his with a few errors and some changes, introduced in all probability by Briggs. An examination of it at once shows that we have here a new map of California, the first published, so far as known, to display the results of the Vizcaino expedition in 1602-3, unless that which



appeared in Amsterdam in the *West-Indische Spiegel*, a book purporting to have been published in 1624, be considered earlier. It also displays the fantastic names which Father Antonio borrowed from the account of Marqués and the Puerto de la Paz in Lower California, besides a number of old ones on the coast of Sinaloa and Sonora.

The Vizcaino place names are not derived from Torquemada's *Monarchia Indiana* nor from Father Antonio's account just translated, but almost exclusively from the *derrotero* which Bolaños and Father Antonio made. A few additions were made from the official accounts of the voyage and a few names were omitted, most noticeably that of the Isla de San Gerónimo. The island is shown unnamed and just south of it a much larger one, the Is de Ceintas, an error for Cenizas. Bolaños after stating in his *derrotero* that San Gerónimo was in $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ says: "Turning again to the course southeast a quarter south and passing four leagues to seaward of the Isla de San Marcos, you reach an island of medium heighth in short $31^{\circ} 20'$ (about $31^{\circ} 15'$) more than twelve leagues from the mainland. It is called the Isla de Cenizas and in a line north-south with it are some very high level mesas rising out of the sea which the sailors call 'Mesas de Juan Gomez.'" This is contradictory; if the island was twelve leagues from the mainland, the mesas could neither be north nor south of it.

The most noticeable changes made in copying Father Antonio's original map were those of the Punta de la Conversion to a duplicated Punta de la Concepcion, and of the Puerto de San Francisco to Puerto Sir Francisco Draco. The first is just plain error, of course, but the writer considers the second to be a change deliberately made by Briggs. The latitude of this *puerto* corresponded closely to that assigned in the accounts of Drake's voyage around the world to the bay in which he refitted his ship. This change and some other errors in the Briggs map are also found in the Dutch map, but as the southernmost Puerto de la Concepcion and a number of Briggs' other names were omitted from it, it follows that the Briggs map could not have been copied from it. They might both have been copied from the same original, but the writer considers that the appearance on the Dutch map of the Puerto Sir Francisco Draco in the place of San Francisco is good evidence that it was copied from that of Briggs, as such a name could certainly have never appeared on a Spanish map. There are some other differences between the two maps; the Dutch one shows more of Mexico in the lower part and perhaps some ten degrees more of north latitude. This latter part, naturally, was not taken from Father Antonio's map but from the accounts of the voyages of Henry Hudson and Sir Thomas Button.

The striking feature of the Briggs map is, of course, the great island made of California, a conception peculiarly Father Antonio's, and one on which he did not cease expatiating, like all who think they have discovered some great truth. This conception had no connection, historic or geographic, with the idea which arose when California was first discovered, that it was an island. That

opinion disappeared after the voyages of Ulloa and Alarcon and all the maps in circulation from about 1545 to 1625 display California in its true form, as a peninsula. Nevertheless, during all that time the views held about the configuration of the upper part of the Gulf of California and about the rivers flowing into it were extremely hazy. The idea continually crops up that the gulf did not end where the Colorado River enters it, but extended northward to the west of that river. In 1554 a map made by Michael Tramezini was published in Venice, which shows the gulf as extending to the north to about the latitude of 37°, where it ends in a point. Possibly Tramezini obtained this idea from a mistaken notion of the journey of Marcos de Niza of which he seems to have had some knowledge. This peculiar configuration of the gulf is found again in a map made by Michael Lok which Richard Hakluyt published in his *Divers Voyages* in 1582. On this map the gulf almost reaches a passage connecting the Atlantic and the Pacific, in later years known as the Strait of Anian. It will be recalled that at the farthest point reached by the *Tres Reyes*, the coast seemed to turn northeast, very much as depicted on Lok's map, and Father Antonio expressed his opinion that here was the beginning of the famous Strait of Anian. Who cut the connection between the Gulf of California and this strait remains to be determined, but there is every probability that Father Antonio himself was the man.

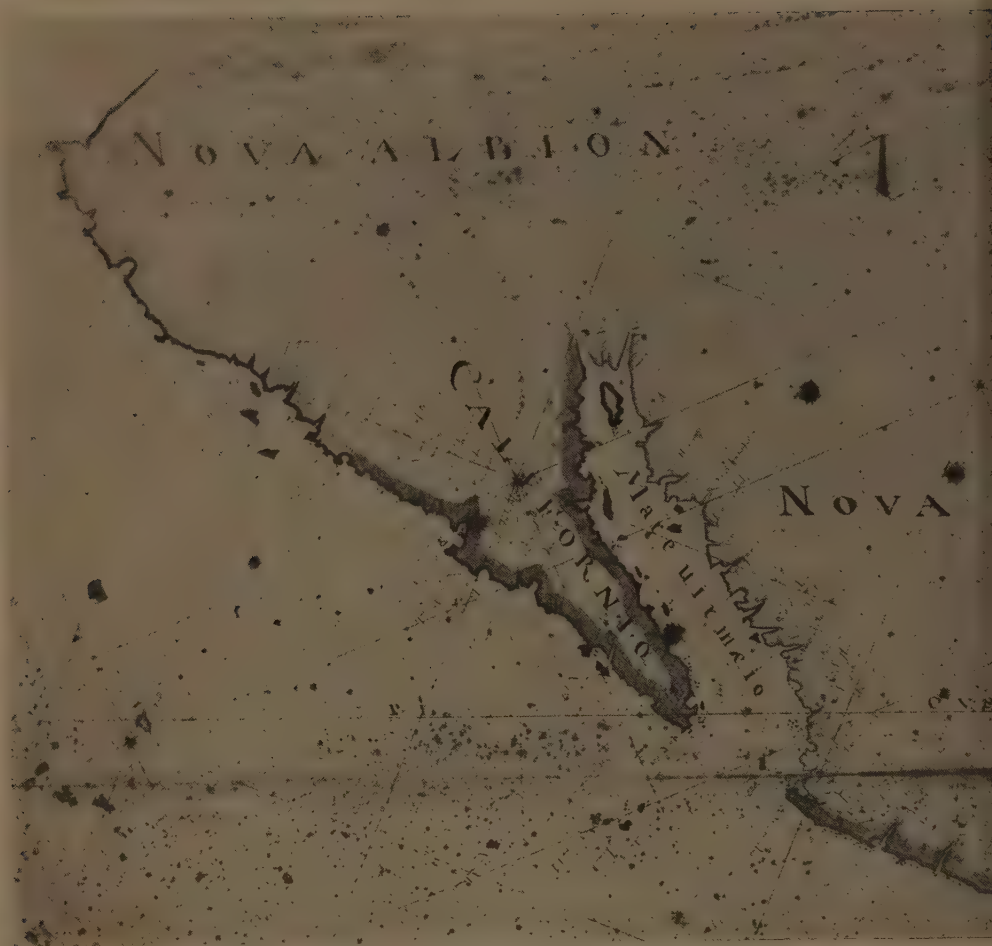
Recalling Vizcaino's Instruction No. 23 (quoted in Note 127), the Viceroy's remark about ascending the gulf to 37° is a pretty plain indication that he was aware of the existence of these maps. It may be noted that he says nothing about the gulf continuing to the strait, from which it would appear that the imaginary connection had not yet been made. In the writer's *Some Imaginary California Geography*, the theory was advanced that the story of the pilot Morera was instrumental, at least in part, in inducing Father Antonio to create his Mediterranean Sea of California. Briefly, this story was that this man came to Sombraerete and told the governor Rodrigo Rio de la Losa that he had been put ashore by Drake at the Strait of Anian or at the entrance to it, and during four years' wanderings had crossed an arm of the sea which separated New Mexico from a western land. No contemporary document which the writer has seen contains any mention of this story, which has always been supposed to be a fable. It is somewhat curious, however, to note that one of the Spanish sailors in Guatulco in April, 1579, claimed to have recognized a man on board the *Golden Hind* as a pilot named Morera. The story first appears in the *Relaciones* of Gerónimo de Zárate Salmeron. This work was not written until about 1629, just when the investigation about California was being carried on in Mexico City. Zárate Salmeron gives some account of the Vizcaino expedition, and among other matters states that he heard the above story from Father Antonio. Whether true or not, matters little; Father Antonio was obviously very ready to accept it, and when added to the vague stories of Marqués about the sketch which the Indians made, it seems to have been quite sufficient to convince him that the gulf extended onward to a connection with the strait. Even if the map

reproduced by Briggs should some time turn out not to have been one of his, yet he makes it clear, even to the point of satiety, that these were his views, and states that one of his maps showed this Mediterranean Sea as extending to and connecting with the strait.

It might be urged by some curious reader, as Father Antonio would say, that the small map on the title-page of the 1622 edition of Herrera was taken from the same original as the Briggs map. This is possible; there is certainly some resemblance between their "Islands of California." The extremely small scale of the Herrera map might be accountable for showing the strait as a mere line, especially as this, after all, is not a map in the proper sense of the word, but rather a vignette to embellish a title-page. It may even be suggested that this is the map that Briggs referred to in 1622 as having seen in London. The writer, however, holds to the opinion that in the Briggs map we have Father Antonio's lost map of 1620, and whether the Herrera vignette was taken from that or from an earlier one captured by Speilbergen, may be left as an open question.

The Briggs map was copied, one might say, hundreds of times in the course of the following century and a half. A few changes were made including a correction of the Punta de la Concepcion to the Punta de la Conversion, by some one who had evidently seen the original map, perhaps Nicolas Sanson, whose map of Nouveau Mexique of 1656 seems to be the first to record the correction. A few more imaginary names were also in time inserted in Father Antonio's Mediterranean Sea of California, but generally speaking the type remained constant.

The only other published map of the discoveries which the writer has seen was one by Robert Dudley, which appeared in his *Arcano del Mare* in Florence in 1646. This map, like all those of Dudley's, contains an assortment of his imaginary names interspersed with some genuine ones which were not taken from the Briggs map. The trend of the coast is entirely different from that of Briggs, and everything indicates that Dudley drew his facts from some printed or manuscript account of the voyage. Although his maps are not noted for accuracy in the spelling of place names, this one is particularly bad in that respect, a proof that he could hardly have seen the original plans, as on these the names are very clearly delineated; besides he adds a few which do not appear on these. So far as known to the writer, there is nothing in the text of his book to indicate the source of his information, and until more light on the subject appears, this must remain an unsolved problem. The writer has seen no map which was copied from his, but such a vast number of maps was published in the following century that it is not impossible that one may yet be found. A peculiarity of the map consists in the differentiation between the Puerto de Don Gasper and the Puerto dell Nuouo Albion. There is no authority for making this distinction in any account of the expedition; all agree in placing the Puerto de San Francisco or Don Gaspar in about $38\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, just where Drake was supposed to have repaired his ship. The distinction seems to have been an invention of Dudley's, perhaps to separate such a worthy individual as Drake from any even



Section of a manuscript map of John Daniell, 1637

supposed connection with the Spaniards. He therefore removed the Puerto dell Nuouo Albion to about $38^{\circ} 15'$.

Besides the published maps of Briggs and Dudley there were some in manuscript in circulation which displayed Vizcaino's names and continued to show California as a peninsula. The ships sailing between the Philippines and Acapulco must have carried such charts, but the writer has never been able to find one made in the seventeenth century. There is, however, in the National Library in Florence a most interesting manuscript map drawn by John Daniell in London, and dated 1637, which bears no resemblance to either of the printed ones. It is just possible that it may have been drawn by Daniell from some Spanish chart which the English had captured. A section of the map showing the northwest coast is herewith reproduced. Many of the names are difficult to distinguish, but it has been possible to make out nearly all of them. The list follows, reading from north-south: Baya del Cabo (?), P. de Don Gaspar, R. Salado, I. Barrancas Blancas, Ensenada, P. de Añonuevo, P. de Monterey, Costa de Mucha Arboleda, Ensenada de Roque, Costa Sigura del Pueblo Grande, Costa Tirado ay Canoas de Tablas, P. de Rio Dulce, Ensenada S. Andres de Buena Gente, Costa Sigura, P. de S. Diego, El Calvario, P. (?) de Todos Santos, San Quintin, Laguna Grande, Enseada de las Virgines, P. Delgada, Ensa. Pequeña, Bahia de St. Francisco, Costa Limpia, C. (?) Blanco de Santa Maria, Laguna, Ensa. de Pescado Blanco, Enseada Grande, P. St. Bartolomeo, P. de S. Eugenio, Messa, Enseada de la Asumcion, P. de St. Ypolito, Ensa. de Ypolito, Playas, P. de Abreojos, P. de S. Lazaro, Ensa. grande, Ens. Pequeña, Ens. Bor., B. de Sta. . . . , Ens. Pequeña, P. de . . . , Sierras Enfadas, The islands are as follows: Sta. Barbara and St. Augustin off Monterey, S. Ambrosio, de Barbudas, S. Nicholas, S.^t Catalina, I. de Cenisa (for San Clemente), de S. Martin just south of San Quintin, Todos Santos, I. de Cedros, Assumta, Farallones que par (ecen) velas. The name California is spread along the peninsula from about opposite the mouth of the Colorado River. A curious feature of the map is the absence of Pt. Conception, or any point on the coast where it should be. Instead, this runs straight in a nearly northwesterly direction from Punta de Rio Dulce to Monterey, which is shown in about $36\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. Unfortunately, the names on the northern part of the coast are obliterated, but it is probable that the farthest point shown is Cabo Blanco where the coast turns directly east for a short distance and then northeast. The misplacing of the islands is another curious feature. The name Santa Barbara near the one farthest north may have been intended for that of the channel. San Augustin, it will be recalled, was one of the names ascribed by Palacios to San Miguel. Cenisa for San Clemente seems to be a remarkable error, unless we recall the fact that the Cazonas on many maps were placed in that position, and the maker of that map may have confounded the names. The Islas de Todos Santos are far removed from the Ensenada. The island in San Pedro Bay appears as a large island. To decipher the names on the Sonora-Sinaloa coast would be still more difficult, but the Rio de Alarcon, the Tizon, the San Francisco and other rivers farther south can be distinguished.

NOTES

211. This and the following chapter were omitted entirely by Torquemada, who makes not the slightest allusion to Father Antonio's geographical ideas or his schemes for colonizing California.

212. This expedition set out in October, 1604, under the command of Oñate himself. There were about thirty soldiers in the party and a Franciscan, Fray Francisco de Escobar, who wrote a full account of the journey. A copy of his account sent to Spain is still extant in 58-3-9, and has been translated by Dr. H. E. Bolton and published in Vol. V of the *Catholic Historical Review*, 1919. Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmeron in his *Relacion* written about 1629, evidently had access to Escobar's narrative and inserted considerable extracts from it in his work. He added, however, some additional facts from his personal knowledge of affairs in New Mexico and possibly from information derived from other members of the party. He also evidently had in his possession another account written by Gerónimo Marqués, as he refers to him and his movements. A translation of Zárate Salmeron's account had been previously published by Dr. Bolton in *Spanish Exploration*.

213. Oñate reached the Colorado (the Tizon) at the mouth of Bill Williams Fork in about 34° 20'. The first he named Buena Esperanza (December 18), and the second San Andrés (November 30), having discovered them on those days.

214. Montague Island at the mouth of the river is only in 31° 45'. Oñate, who reached salt water January 23, named the mouth the "Puerto de la Conversion," after that of San Pablo, January 25, and he took possession that day.

215. The Rio de Coral was probably the Santa Clara, one of the mouths of the Colorado.

216. Escobar mentions this giantess, the island being, according to what the Indians told him, five days' journey distant to the west.

217. What Marqués meant by saying he saw no land or mountains on the other side is difficult to understand. He must have been looking down the gulf and not across the river.

218. This lake appears in Escobar's account without name or other location than that it was up the river. Zárate Salmeron called it "Copalla."

219. In the writer's *Some Imaginary California Geography*, pages 34 and 35, a reference was made to this "Rey Coronado," or as it appears on Briggs' map, "Coromedo," and the opinion was hazarded that this name and the Rio de Anguchi were possibly derived from an account written by Gerónimo Marqués to which Fray Antonio de la Ascension had had access. The manuscript referred to therein is the one now translated, but while the "Rey Coronado" appears in it, the Rio de Anguchi is not mentioned. The latter name seems to be from Escobar's *Anopacha*, which he said the Indians called a yellow metal, or *Anpacha* as it appears later in his narrative.

220. Escobar refers to this sketch which an Indian made on a piece of paper, and makes a statement somewhat similar to this. Apparently the sketch showed the turn the gulf was said to make towards the north and the northeast. Probably the Indians were attempting to show the Grand Canyon of Colorado, which extends from east to west.

221. He nowhere else mentions seeing this lake nor does Escobar, nor did they reach such a place as he describes, unless he refers to the Moqui towns where Escobar states that on their return they found some stones which looked like minerals.

222. This story does not occur in Escobar's account. The writer has never found any evidence that the natives of this part of America knew anything about gold.

223. This story of the silver is related in much the same way by Escobar, who stated that the Indians gave them to understand that it was dug out of a mountain on the other shore of the sea in front of an island five days' journey distant to the west. To this Zárate Salmeron adds that the island was only one day's sail from the coast. It is now well established that the Indians on this part of the Colorado traded with the coast Indians, and no doubt knew about the islands, but there is not the slightest likelihood that any of these knew anything about any metal, except possibly native copper or native silver.

224. It would be interesting to know what Indians these were. By this time the notion that Quivira was north or northwest of New Mexico seems to have become fully established. The writer does not recall having seen any other allusion to this incident.

225. In this paragraph Father Antonio declares himself as a believer in the insularity of California. In all probability he was the first person to make such a positive statement. It is even possible that he was the originator of the idea.

226. This was not what the Indians explained, judging from Escobar's account, nor even what Marqués wrote; it is merely an assumption of Father Antonio's which he evidently embodied in his map. On Briggs' map the Isla de Giganta is shown in the Gulf of California, opposite the mouth of the Rio del Tizon.

In E, he places the location of this island in 37°, and Quivira in 42°, the junction of the gulf with the strait being in 40°.

In C, it is suggested that a settlement be made at the mouth of the Tizon, as the Laguna de Oro and Rey Coronado were near it. For the preservation of this another should be made on the coast opposite. In this he enters into greater detail about his colonization plans.

CHAPTER XII

THE PROJECT TO SETTLE MONTEREY

Vizcaino had sent the Viceroy by his post from Mazatlan a short account of what had happened after the *Santo Tomás* left Monterey, and March 26 the Viceroy wrote the King a short letter with a resumé of what the expedition had accomplished. He did not neglect to state that some who came back were of the opinion that certain of the sierras they had seen showed signs of containing metal.¹ May 23 Vizcaino addressed a letter to the King in which he also gave a rather brief summary of his expedition, somewhat mixed, as he attributed to Monterey and its inhabitants much of what he had seen farther south on the coast. The burden of his song was the wonderful qualities of that port. He offered to dedicate himself and what remained of his property and health to the task of settling it and also asked for remuneration. He said nothing about the Strait of Anian or any other strait but on the contrary claimed that the coast continued on and that when he had been in 42° he had been near Japan and China, Tartary and the famous city of Quinsay.² The Viceroy sent by the *Flota*, which must have departed some time in June or July, a book containing an account of the voyage, a record of what was done on the ships, the plan of each port by itself with its description, and a graduated map on which the most important and necessary ports were noted. From his accompanying letter it appears that he was well satisfied with the results and only regretted that Vizcaino had not been able to examine the Gulf of California. It is quite apparent that Vizcaino had convinced him of the great advantages of Monterey as a port. He recommended that Vizcaino and the private persons who went with him should be honored and rewarded.³

Vizcaino now set about preparing his claim for reward. He filed a petition with the Audiencia about the first of July, requesting that body to receive an *informacion de oficio* of his merits and services and of the expenses he had incurred, as he desired to present this to His Majesty in seeking some official appointment and a grant of Indians in *encomienda*. The Viceroy as president of the Audiencia appointed one of the *oydores*, Dr. Francisco Alonso de Villagrà, to receive the testimony. Vizcaino presented eight interrogatories and, September 16, the process of taking testimony began, Captain Esteban Peguero then appearing as a witness. Others followed: Francisco de Bolaños; Pedro Lopez de Contreras (one of Vizcaino's partners in his first enterprise); Fray Andrés de la Asuncion; Miguel Ruiz de Peña; Francisco Benitez; and Captain Pascual de Alarcon y Pacheco who testified October 1. What facts of importance were related by any of these men have been already incorporated in the preceding chapter. On November 20 the Audiencia certified that they considered Vizcaino to be a man who had rendered important services and recommended that the King bestow some honorable office on him.⁴

While this proceeding was under way there was a change in the government. In September news reached Mexico that the Conde de Monterey had been promoted to the government of Peru and that his successor, Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marqués de Montesclaros, had arrived at Veracruz. The new viceroy reached Mexico October 27, 1603, and the Conde de Monterey remained in Otumba awaiting a ship to carry him to Peru from Acapulco. The Marqués was not at all satisfied with the appointments of his predecessor, especially with that of Vizcaino as *general* in command of the ships which were to leave Acapulco in the spring for the Philippines. He had brought with him from Spain a soldier of long service, Diego de Mendoza, to act in that capacity and therefore did not hesitate to remove Vizcaino, whom he appointed *alcalde mayor* of Tehuantepec. The Conde de Monterey had also appointed Captain Palacios to command the *Capitana* and Bolaños as chief pilot on the approaching voyage. The Marqués discovered that the papers of Captain Palacios were forged. He had him tried for the crime and executed him.⁵ Bolaños apparently finally made the voyage together with one of the captains, whether Peguero or Alarcon is not known. These changes were not to the liking of the Conde, and November 22 he wrote the King that he was under obligations to Vizcaino, whom he thought had conducted himself very well, was well qualified for further engagements, and entitled to a reward.⁶

There must have been some extraordinary delay with the correspondence sent in June or July, 1603, or else it was lost and only the duplicates sent in December reached Spain, as it was not until July, 1604, that the Council took up the matter. The result of the considerations in the Council was a cedula issued to the Marqués de Montesclaros, July 30, 1604, which evidently contained a recommendation to him to reward Vizcaino and give him some employment.⁷ The Viceroy in acknowledging the receipt of this attempted to justify his appointments and stated that as far as Vizcaino was concerned he thought that his services had been abundantly rewarded by the appointment he had given him. It seems from this letter that Vizcaino, probably before the departure of the Conde de Monterey, had written to some person of standing in Mexico to tell the Marqués that the way to get rich was to appoint him *general* of the voyage to the Philippines. Naturally much affronted at this, the Viceroy wrote that he would not give Vizcaino anything unless he presented an order from the King with a special clause inserted directing him to comply with it, notwithstanding this charge which he now made against him. This letter reached Spain about July 1, 1606.

In the meantime the Council had been considering the matter, and January 19 of that year had made a recommendation to His Majesty regarding the Puerto de Monterey. The cosmographer, Andrés Garcia de Céspedes having been called in to give his views on the matter, the Council was of the opinion that, considering the convenient situation of this port for ships returning from the Philippines, in which they could provide themselves with necessities and

make repairs, the King should order the Marqués to hunt up Vizcaino and arrange with him to go to the Philippines in the first ships, or, if he was not alive, Captain Gomez de Corbán. The chief pilot, Bolaños, should also be taken. Vizcaino should be honored and helped at the expense of the King for what seemed justly due him and a promise should be made to him that his services in this matter would be taken into consideration. It was recommended that on the return voyage Vizcaino make a call at Monterey, and once the other pilots and seamen had learned the navigation and the Viceroy was thoroughly acquainted with it, he would have the necessary facts which would enable him to settle the port with Spaniards. This he should then proceed to do, conceding just privileges to the settlers and helping them with what money seemed necessary from the royal treasury, being empowered to spend 20,000 pesos on the business.⁸

On March 4, 1606, the Council presented another recommendation, in which, after setting forth a resumé of what had been accomplished on the expedition of 1602-1603, and stating that the diaries and plans had been examined, the advice given in January was reiterated.⁹ The King ordered this to be adopted, and July 9 it was recommended to write the Viceroy to send out Vizcaino to the Philippines in 1607 as *general* of the ships, unless some very considerable inconveniences should present themselves to him in carrying out the order. July 10 the letter of the Marqués of October 28, 1605, was read in the Council, and on the 17th that body again advised employing Vizcaino, notwithstanding what he had written. They also recommended that an order be sent to the governor of the Philippines to assist Vizcaino as much as possible and to send with him two individuals of intelligence and capacity to investigate the Puerto de Monterey and who could return from Acapulco in the following year, 1608, as *general* and *almirante* of the ships.¹⁰ In accordance with this advice a series of cédulas was issued August 19, 1606. The principal one simply embodies the views of the Council of March 4.¹¹ A special letter was issued to the Marqués reprimanding him for having appointed Diego de Mendoza in place of Vizcaino and ordering him to comply implicitly with the general cédula, issued the same day, to appoint Vizcaino to conduct the ships to the Philippines in 1607.¹² Another was issued to Pedro de Acuña, the governor of the Philippines, in which the same antecedents were recited as in that to the Viceroy, and he was ordered to send two persons from the islands with Vizcaino on his return to become acquainted with the port so that they could go back in the following year as *general* and captain of the Philippine ships, as Vizcaino would have to go and settle the port.¹³ October 5 a memorial written by García de Céspedes was sent to the Viceroy, which was to be carried by the person who undertook the expedition. This apparently contained a set of questions regarding the situation and condition of the port which were to be answered either by Vizcaino or by whomsoever accompanied the expedition and was competent to do so.¹⁴

The cédula of August 19 is somewhat celebrated and is generally supposed to contain a definite order to make a settlement at Monterey. A careful reading

of the document, however, shows that the execution of the order was subject to some contingencies. A translation of the mandatory part is herewith given:

It has seemed advisable to me that all the ships coming from the Philippines should enter this port [Monterey], as they sight that coast, and therefore should make repairs and obtain supplies there. In order to make a beginning and establish the arrangement with full information, I have thought it good to order you as I do by these presents to search for the said *General* Sebastian Vizcaino with all care and diligence, as the man who made the exploration, having run all along the coast from Acapulco to Cabo Mendocino and if he is not alive to search for his *Almirante*. As soon as he is found make arrangements for him to go to the Philippines and to take his chief pilot or that of the *Almiranta*, honoring him and helping him for the purpose from my royal treasury with what seems proper to you and telling him on my part how much he would serve me in this, and that I shall take care to reward him and remunerate his services and particularly those he may render in this case. In order that his departure on this business can take place soon, I have agreed to order you to dispatch the ships which are to go to the Philippines in the coming year 1607 in the usual form and that followed up to the present time, in view of the fact that Don Pedro de Acuña, my governor and captain-general of the Islands, cannot have finished building the ships of 200 tons which are to be used in the trade in conformity with the new order which I have ordered to be given about this business. I therefore order you to appoint Sebastian Vizcaino as *general* of these ships, notwithstanding the difficulties and inconveniences about this business, which you have written as occurring to you, and for his *almirante* the one he had on his expedition to the Puerto de Monterey, if they are both alive. If one is dead you will send as *general* the survivor, and as chief pilot, that of the *General* or his *Almirante* as stated, without paying any attention to any other considerations except my absolute service, as I am confident you will do, so that on the return voyage in bringing back the ships under their charge they can examine the method in which the Puerto de Monterey should be settled, leave the call there introduced and the pilots and seamen of the ships trained in the navigation, especially the two individuals whom by another cedula of this date I am ordering the governor, Don Pedro de Acuña, to send with Sebastian Vizcaino. These men are to be of good qualities and with the intelligence and capacity requisite to examine the port, and who can return from Acapulco to the Islands as *general* and *almirante* of the ships which are to go there in 1608. It is my wish that these and Sebastian Vizcaino and his *almirante* should receive the ordinary salary which other *generales* and *almirantes* on that course have received and that they be paid beginning on the same days and in the same form and manner that those have been paid. In order that the said port may be safe, as this is advisable, it has seemed to me very important to endeavor to settle it and that this be done with Spaniards, committing the project to Sebastian Vizcaino as he, by reason of the confidence held in him due to the knowledge which he has of the character of the port and the disposition of the country, having inspected it all with so much care and intelligence, seems to be more than any other person the most appropriate one to go back and settle it after he has gone out to the Philippines and returned and introduced a call in that port. I therefore shall consider myself served if you will commit the settlement to Sebastian Vizcaino provided no considerable inconveniences to doing so present themselves to you, taking such action as seems most advisable to you to secure the end in view, the affair being remitted to your good zeal and your prudence, care and wisdom, on which I can depend. In order that good Spanish people may be induced to settle the port you will concede to all the settlers the grants and prerogatives which seem advisable to you and may be just, and aid them with the necessary funds from my royal treasury to enable them to move their households and convey materials for making settlements, on their assurance that they will return this within such time after the port is settled as seems proper to you. This is my wish and I approve your spending from my royal property up to 20,000 pesos, taking it out of my royal treasury, it being understood, however, that the settlers must return and restore to my royal property at the times and in the manner which seems advisable to you as above stated what you give and draw out for them. Of all that you do and are doing you will advise me, with your opinion, so that I may keep informed about it. I ordered the accountants attached to my Council to make a note of this cedula. San Lorenzo, August 19, 1606. I the King. [Countersigned by Juan de Ciriça, and signed by those of the Council.]

The inconvenience or objections referred to in this document soon became manifest. When the order reached the Marqués, April 11, 1607, the ships for China had already departed and Vizcaino had gone to Spain the year before in the *Flota*. The Marqués had been appointed viceroy of Peru and only awaited

the appointment of his successor. This turned out to be Luis de Velasco, who was then living on his estate in Mexico. As the execution of the business would fall to Velasco, who did not become viceroy until July 2, the Marqués felt free to express his opinion on the subject in a letter he wrote May 24. He agreed that it was important to find a port where the ships on the return voyage could stop and, in default of a better one, the best thing would be to be content with Monterey. He then adds:¹⁵

In order to better judge of the character of this port it is to be remarked that it seems to be in 37°¹⁶ on the coast of what they call New Spain, which extends from Cabo Mendocino to Acapulco, according to the survey made by Sebastian Vizcaino. Although it is a fact that the ships generally sight land in this neighborhood (within one or two degrees more or less), it is to be understood that they always consider the voyage made and the danger over on the day when they reach there. This feeling is so pronounced that there have been ships which being at the entrance of the Puerto de Monterey have not been willing to enter it after sighting it, but have continued their voyage under full press of sail, because from the time they sight land in whatever part it may be, they arrive at the Puerto de Acapulco with good and favorable weather in twenty-five or thirty days. The misfortunes occasioned by the hurricanes which put in travail the ships from China and force them to turn back with such loss usually occur after they leave the Cabo del Espiritu Santo of the Isla de Manila and while prosecuting their voyage along the string of the Islas de los Ladrones until they mount the head of Japan in the part called Cabo de Cestos in 32° or 33°. Thus it is that when a ship becomes unrigged it always happens before entering the great ocean of New Spain, and then there is no other recourse except to go back to the coast or to the Philippines. In case their condition permits them to reach a sight of the coast of Cabo Mendocino, in which they ordinarily consume fifty days from this port, it can be clearly seen that there can be nothing more to worry about.

Now then it has been set out that the Puerto de Monterey is in 37° on the coast of New Spain where, when the ships of the Philippines reach it, they always have an assured voyage to the Puerto de Acapulco in twenty-five or thirty days. It has never occurred that after having sighted land they have gone back to the point of departure. If it is desired that these ships have a safe place to which they can go back or in which they can stop to provide themselves with what may be necessary, it follows that one should be provided for them or at least sought for where it may be of advantage to them before entering the great ocean of New Spain.

For this purpose it may be observed that in 34° to 35° there are two islands called "Rica de Oro" and "Rica de Plata," directly west of the Puerto de Monterey, almost on the same parallel but at a great distance of longitude. These islands or some of them are the ones which all those who have treated about this navigation and have followed it say that it would be convenient to examine and settle in order that the ships may stop there.

In conformity with this, Sir, it looks as though it would be best that the exploration and settlement now being considered should be principally made from the Islands and that for this purpose, a person of care and fidelity should be demanded. I understand that Sebastian Vizcaino would be an appropriate person because, aside from his ability, he already knows how to find the Puerto de Monterey with which he is acquainted. If this is to be done and your Majesty pleases, he can leave the Puerto de Acapulco as *general* of the ships of the ordinary fleet and sail from Manila with two light ships without cargo and, with no other object in view than the discovery, because if he should come back as *general* on the return voyage the goods of the citizens of Manila would run a great risk by reason of the delay, and if any loss occurred thereby they would have a right to ask a recompense from your Majesty. Once the port be found, which is the object sought, Vizcaino could go as *general* the following year and begin stopping in it, and with this the call would remain introduced into the voyage.

The Marqués was clearly worried and before departing for Peru saw fit to unburden his mind somewhat further on the subject. In a letter from Acapulco dated August 4, 1607, he wrote:¹⁷

In the letter of May 23 of this year I advised your Majesty that I did not consider it of any importance to explore and settle the Puerto de Monterey. As the inconveniences of this business do not stop in its simply being of little necessity, but in my view are obviously prejudicial, I cannot excuse myself from speaking to your Majesty with clearness about it, at a time when this business is already in the hands of another.

The greatest security and strength in these kingdoms on the coast of your Majesty in the South Sea lie in the difficulty of enemies coming to it and the little assistance they would have in the ports even when in it. In order to do away somewhat with this inconvenience, they have always been hunting for new ways, always looking for a strait or passage above Cabo Mendocino or by the opening of the Californias. It seemed to them that the day they should find it they would have secured with little effort what would be the best for them.

See, your Majesty, ask yourself what would happen if on our part you should aid them by reconnoitering those coasts, giving occasion for them to become acquainted with them, and opening ports. For my part I think that once it was explored and settled it would be common ground for friends and enemies where, besides finding shelter for their ships, they would find Spaniards with whom to treat and trade for food, clothing and goods as they do in the north of Santo Domingo. If they should once gain this, with the spread of the news, it is easy to see how risky everything would be and how necessary it would be that each merchant ship which went to the Philippines should have two armed ships to protect the passage, with extraordinary expense and perpetual alarm on the coasts of Peru and New Spain. It seems likely that this would happen in seeking a port in a place which is not necessary and so removed from these provinces from which it would have to be helped and supplied, that even the news of the losses would not come to the ears of those who have to remedy them for a long time. I beg of your Majesty to order this to be looked into again as there is time before putting it into execution. This is my opinion and I have so stated to the viceroy Don Luis de Velasco.

It is to be noted that in his first letter the Marqués advanced precisely the same arguments against opening a port on the northwest coast that the Marqués de Villamanrique had used twenty years before. In reality, all the talk about the returning ships sighting that coast in the neighborhood of Cabo Mendocino or farther south in that of Monterey was baseless; there was no necessity for doing so, and the ships almost invariably turned southeast before they came within several hundred miles of the coast. Thus they rarely sighted it north of the Isla de Cenizas. Under almost any conceivable condition, to enter Monterey meant a delay, a matter of great detriment to the owners of the goods on the ships and of problematical advantage to the crew, even if they were sick. In the second letter the views can be discerned of a hard-headed Spaniard, about the fears said to have been entertained in Mexico concerning contemplated English settlements on the northwest coast. A Spanish settlement on that coast would have been of more service to the English than one of their own even if they could have maintained it, just as the Marqués states was the case with those of the Spaniards on Santo Domingo and, for that matter, in other places in the West Indies which he did not mention. August 29 the new viceroy, Velasco, wrote endorsing his opinion.¹⁷

While this correspondence was being carried on, Vizcaino was in Spain seeking preferment and remuneration for his services. It will be recalled that the Marqués de Montesclaros had appointed him *alcalde mayor* of Tehuantepec. Among the services for which Vizcaino asked a reward was for opening a new road across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and the conveyance by it of some cannon, anchors, and cables which were sent to the Philippines in the winter of 1604 for the contemplated attack on the Moluccas. Velasco, his successor, in reply to a request from the King for his opinion about this road wrote that he himself had had the road constructed during his first term as viceroy, and that it was not feasible to use it. Nevertheless, it seems from a letter addressed by

Vizcaino from San Juan de Ulua, October 10, 1608, that Velasco had decided to try the road again and had sent him there for the purpose of again conveying some artillery by it across the isthmus.¹⁸ Vizcaino also recounted his services on his two expeditions and on several occasions when he had been sent to warn the ships coming from Manila of the suspected presence of enemies on the coast. While engaged in this pursuit he presented various memorials to the Council, giving his opinion as to the best method of making a settlement at Monterey, harping on the great riches to be obtained from the country, and the advantages which would accrue to the returning Philippine ships. In his petition,¹⁹ which he presented with his *informacion de servicios* and various certificates of the officials in Mexico, his pretensions were very extravagant. He asked for 10,000ducats of income during his life and that of two others, payable from the import duties at Acapulco or in *Indios vacos*;²⁰ a confirmation of the title of *general* of the Philippine navigation, which had been given to him by the Conde de Monterey, to be held exclusively and with the salary and perquisites which had been given to Pedro de Acuña, to be enjoyed from the time he should set sail from San Lucar; and to receive the title of *adelantado* of the country he had discovered in the South Sea with the privileges given to new discoverers, not only for himself but for his sons and successors. June 3, 1607, a cedula was issued to the viceroy of New Spain to give him for his life and one other only, a number of *Indios vacos*, or if there were none, the first which should become available in Mexico, sufficient to produce in each year a rental of 2,000 pesos of 8 *reales* each, and to give him 1,000 pesos in cash each year from the royal treasury in Mexico until he entered into the enjoyment of this revenue. The cash was to be payable from the date of the cedula and was not to form any part of another 2,000 pesos granted him in payment of his expenses by another cedula.²¹

The letters of the Marqués de Montesclaros just previously translated reached the Council while Vizcaino was in Spain, and they began to consider the matter anew in September and October, 1607. They now decided to recommend to His Majesty, in view of the objections of the Marqués, to send an order to Velasco to do nothing further in the Monterey business before discovering the Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata, for the purpose of settling one of these islands as being more appropriate for the call of the Philippine ships, and to use in the work the 20,000 pesos which had been ordered to be spent in settling Monterey and more if necessary, conceding to the settlers the same privileges as would have been granted to them if they had settled in Monterey. If, however, it should seem to Velasco that Monterey was more appropriate than one of these islands, he was to follow the original plan. They also recommended that Vizcaino conduct the voyage to discover and settle them.²² Before sailing for Mexico, Vizcaino wrote a letter from San Lucar in which he referred to the charges the Marqués de Montesclaros had made against him, and refused to make any statement about the letter to which the Marqués referred, which it seems had been written to the viceroy's confessor, Fray Pedro Ramirez, saying God knew the truth about that.

He claimed that the Marqués had removed him from the position of *general* of the fleet in order to give it to his uncle, Diego de Mendoza, who, he alleged, came back from the Philippines loaded with bales and boxes of merchandise. This time he only regretted those innumerable Indians who were awaiting the light of the Holy Evangel.²³

It was not until September 27, 1608, that a cedula was issued to the Viceroy to suspend for the time being the introduction of Monterey into the Manila-Acapulco route and its settlement, and to endeavor to discover and settle either the Rica de Oro or Rica de Plata.²⁴ Much time was lost in preparing this expedition. It was finally decided to send out Vizcaino from Acapulco with orders to proceed direct to Japan. He sailed March 22, 1611, taking with him twenty-two Japanese who had come to New Spain the year before.²⁵ He finally reached Japan, where, assuming to be an envoy to the Emperor, he succeeded in stirring up some trouble for himself and the Spanish Government.²⁶ Needless to say, he did not find the Rica de Oro or Rica de Plata, and indeed, does not seem to have made much of a search for them. He had nothing to say in his account about the return voyage, except that he sighted the northwest coast in the neighborhood of Cabo Mendocino, December 26, 1613. He reached Acapulco January 22, 1614.²⁷

Before Vizcaino left on this expedition he had come into his *Indios vacos*, which turned out to be in the Province of Avalos. Here we find him in 1615 when Speilbergen made his famous descent on the Mexican coast. As soon as he heard of the arrival of the Dutch, he enlisted what force he could and set out to defend the country. Speilbergen had reached Salagua where he went ashore with a large number of men. We have Vizcaino's word for it that he ambushed these with his poorly equipped and organized force, and drove them back to the boats. Just what really happened is uncertain, but he finally wound up with some Dutch prisoners in his hands who all said they had deserted. The Dutch went away and Vizcaino examined his prisoners, sending a full account of the proceedings to the Viceroy.²⁸ From that time he disappears, but he died before 1629,²⁹ perhaps in 1628, although this is by no means certain, as the statement regarding it made by his grandson is somewhat ambiguous.³⁰

Looking over Vizcaino's career, so much of which has appeared in the foregoing pages, it can be said without bias or prejudice that he was stronger in words than in deeds. Indeed, there was hardly any Spaniard of his day, living in Mexico at least, who wrote more and accomplished less than he did. He was, as the Conde de Monterey expressed it, of mediocre talent, and although perhaps he displayed more spirit and enterprise than could have been expected of a mere merchant, as the Conde also declared, yet he never seemed to have enough to bring any enterprise to a successful conclusion. There were not wanting in his day those who attributed the failure of his expeditions to incompetence, and although perhaps this may be a somewhat hard judgment, emanating from his rivals, and his lack of success may in a measure have been due to circumstances

over which he had no control, yet the fact remains that he was not strong enough to surmount unforeseen obstacles.

The most interesting member of the expedition was undoubtedly Fray Antonio de la Ascension, whose account of it has been translated. He must have been a young man at the time, probably about thirty years of age. His account seems to have been written long enough after the return to give him time to become obsessed with the idea of a Strait of Anian and the extension of the Gulf of California to a connection with it, so prominent in all his writings. In later years he appeared as a supporter of pearl-fishing enterprises, not probably because he had the least interest in this business, but because the promoters of such schemes were always bringing forward the settling of the peninsula and the reduction of the natives to the Christian faith as a bait to get concessions, and because, as he once explained, the Spaniards would not move unless they could expect some profit for themselves. His efforts were no doubt prompted in large measure by his desire to secure a field of missionary labor for his own Order, the Carmelites, who had come to New Spain after the other Orders had appropriated all the occupied territory available for such enterprises. He lived at times in Valladolid and Puebla, and is said to have died at the age of sixty-three in the latter place, just when does not seem to be known, but certainly not before 1632, as in that year he gave his testimony regarding the best method of settling California.³¹

Both the account of Father Antonio and that ascribed to Vizcaino strike us as having a certain air of unreality. It is only from a mere incidental allusion here and there that one would gain any idea from reading them that the coast they followed had been previously explored. There is nothing in either account to indicate that the authors had knowledge of any other expedition than that of Cermeño, and even of that no mention is made except of the loss of his ship. After leaving Cabo de San Lucas and until the arrival at Cabo Mendocino, every place visited was given a new name by Vizcaino. Even Cedros was changed to Cerros by both him and Palacios and Bahia de San Francisco to Don Gaspar, the old names being retained only by Father Antonio. This renaming of every place in spite of the instructions of the Viceroy is proof that Vizcaino intended to convey the impression that he had discovered something new. All this we know to be false or at least a mistake. To anyone who has carefully read the accounts of the voyages translated in the earlier part of this work it will be manifest that he discovered little or nothing. If we add to the knowledge of the northwest coast obtained by Cabrillo what had been seen and recorded by Unamuno and Cermeño, we shall find that he only discovered the Harbor of Monterey and the Rio de Santa Inez. It is even probable that Cermeño had examined the coast farther north than he, or even those in the *Tres Reyes*, and besides, Cermeño too, as well as Cabrillo had been in Monterey Bay. The only tangible result of the expedition was a new set of names for the capes, bays, points, and islands on the coast, names which have largely survived to the present day.

A certain degree of exaggeration is discernible in all the accounts of the voyage, in fact, many of the statements are demonstrably incorrect. Vizcaino, who in this respect was the most blameworthy, had engaged in the affair with the hope of receiving some personal benefit and advancement. He therefore labored to demonstrate that he had accomplished a great feat, and never ceased calling the attention of the King to the voyage as something which had produced great results. The motives of Father Antonio are not quite so obvious. As a true Christian, we cannot believe him capable of stooping to deceit, but, like other devout priests filled with missionary zeal, he saw everything through rose-colored glasses, and thus unwittingly fell in with the views of his chief. The evangelization of the Californias was, according to both of them, the great object to be achieved. In this work the promise of success, based on some casual signs which they understood to be reverence and docility, lay in the alleged readiness of many of the natives to accept the Christian faith. They deceived themselves, the work of conversion when undertaken long afterwards proved to be an extensive and arduous task.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XII

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The documents concerning the project to make a settlement in Monterey Bay are numerous and important, a proof of the great interest taken in the matter. An unusual number of *consultas* of the Council of the Indies, or as we would call them, the recommendations to the King in the matter, have been preserved in the archives, mostly in 58-2-18 and 59-1-2, with a few in 58-3-16. The correspondence of the viceroys of the period is contained in 58-3-14, 58-3-15, 58-3-16, 58-3-17. Files 59-1-2, 59-1-3, 59-1-4 and 59-1-5 contain Vizcaino's memorials and letters, and the various cédulas issued from time to time are scattered through the files already mentioned and in other places specifically referred to in the notes. Duplicates of several of the documents were later inserted in a new file, 67-3-27, an immense collection of papers devoted to the later attempts to colonize California. File 67-3-28, a continuation of this, contains the proceedings concerning the efforts of Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero to secure a license to colonize California in 1576, in the course of which Vizcaino's grandsons intervened.

Vizcaino departed for Spain in the *Flota* of 1606. In that year, probably in the latter part, he presented a memorial outlining his arguments for settling the Port of Monterey. Just when he filed his petition asking for remuneration is uncertain, but no doubt he wasted little time after reaching Spain. In the following year he presented several other petitions and memorials. The following documents were printed by Carrasco in his *Documentos*:

No. 23. Part of the Conde de Monterey's letter of March 26, 1603.

No. 24. Vizcaino's letter dated May 23, 1603.

No. 25. Part of a letter of the Viceroy dated May 28, 1603.

- No. 26. The Viceroy's letter of November 22, 1603.
- No. 32. Vizcaino's undated memorial of 1606.
- No. 33. Cedula to Montesclaros of August 19, 1606 about appointment of Vizcaino (wrongly dated August 9).
- No. 34. Vizcaino's letter to Francisco de Tejada, undated (1607), requesting appointment as *adelantado* of the South Seas.
- No. 35. Cedula of August 19, 1606, about the settlement of Monterey.
- No. 36. Cedula of October 5, 1606, about the settlement of Monterey.
- No. 37. Vizcaino's letter to Francisco de Tejada, Madrid, May 10, 1607.
- No. 38. Vizcaino's letter to the Conde de Lemos, Madrid, May 13, 1607.
- No. 39. Part of a letter from Vizcaino dated Seville, August 28, 1607, asking to be appointed to command the quicksilver ships about to be sent to New Spain.
- No. 40. An official request to the same effect attached to the preceding.
- No. 41. Vizcaino's letter from San Juan de Ulua of October 10, 1608.
- No. 42. A resolution of the Council of the Indies on the convenience of colonizing Monterey, undated but 1607.
- No. 43. Cedula to Velasco of September 27, 1608, ordering the suspension of colonizing Monterey.
- No. 44. Part of a letter from Vizcaino from Mexico, May 20, 1609, still harping on colonizing Monterey.

No. 24 was printed with an English translation by Griffin in the *Publications*. The cedula to Pedro de Acuña of August 19, 1606, was printed in Vol. I of Miguel Venegas' *Noticia de la California*, Madrid, 1757, and translated in B. & R., XIV, 182-188. In the same volume, 275-7, a translation of the cedula to Velasco of May 3, 1609, ordering him to send an expedition from the Philippines to discover the Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata and then return to those islands, unless he had made some other arrangements, was also published.

NOTES

- 1. 58-3-9 (should be in 58-3-14).
- 2. 58-6-36. Contains a notation that it was seen in the Council, June 21, 1604.
- 3. Letter of May 28, 1603, 58-3-14.
- 4. 67-3-27.
- 5. See the Marqués' letter of October 28, 1605, 59-1-2. (Endorsed "Seen July 30, 1606.")
- 6. 58-3-14.
- 7. Referred to in the Marqués' answer of October 28, 1605, 58-3-15.
- 8. 58-3-15.
- 9. 147-5-16.
- 10. *Ibid.*
- 11. 59-1-2, also included in various petitions of Vizcaino's grandsons in 67-3-28.
- 12. 59-1-2.
- 13. 67-3-27, also in B. M. Add. MSS 13976, fol. 469-72. Translated in B. & R., XIV.
- 14. Contained in cedula of October 5, 1607, 67-3-27.
- 15. 58-3-16.
- 16. Probably the Viceroy was uncertain about the location; Vizcaino in his first memorial presented in Spain in 1606 alleged that it was in $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, 59-1-2. One of the advantages, he said, in settling Monterey lay in its proximity to the City of Quivira, which, according to the maps, was only some fifty leagues distant.
- 17. 58-3-16.
- 18. The writer missed seeing this letter, which is printed by Carrasco in his *Documentos*.
- No. 41. Velasco's letter in 58-3-16 is dated May 24, 1609.
- 19. The petition has not been found, but the contents are recited in the preamble to the *consulta* of the Council to the King of April 20, 1607, 58-2-18.
- 20. *Indios vacos* were Indians subject to regrant in *encomienda* by reason of the death of the previous holder or expiration of a previous grant. On account of the practice of rewarding services in this way instead of with cash, the list of those waiting for them had become so long that a grant of *Indios vacos* had become to be considered at this period as a kind of jest.
- 21. 67-1-3.

22. The *Consulta* of September 18, 1607, is in 58-3-16, and that of October 6 in 147-5-16.

23. 58-3-16, dated December 3, 1607. Vizcaino was going back to New Spain in one of the swift sailing vessels which was to take out the quicksilver. August 28 he had written to the King asking to be appointed commander of this little fleet and filed a formal application for the position in which he states that he had served twenty-seven years by sea and land. Carrasco's *Documentos*, Nos. 39 and 40.

24. This (September 27, 1609, Carrasco No. 43, translation in B. & R., XIV, 270-5), and subsequent orders are mentioned in the *Consulta* of the Council of April 9, 1609, 58-2-18. It seems from this that Hernando de Rios Coronel, who was then the *procurador* of the Philippines in Spain, had strongly advised sending the expedition from the islands, and that it should return there. The Council thought the advice excellent.

25. See the letter of the Marqués de Salinas, the viceroy, of April 7, 1611, 58-3-17.

26. See a cedula of December 2, 1613, to the Viceroy regarding complaints about Vizcaino's proceedings in Japan, in the *autos* about a license to Bernardo Bernal de Piñadero to conduct an expedition to California, 67-3-28. The document was introduced at the request of Vizcaino's grandson, Nicolas Vizcaino de Lezama. Vizcaino's eldest son, Juan, left a son named Juan Vizcaino Urutia de Contreras who was living in Sayula, in the province of Avalos in 1576, evidently in enjoyment of the *encomienda* granted to his grandfather. He intervened in the same proceedings with a petition that the heirs of Sebastian Vizcaino be preferred to Piñadero.

27. The account of the expedition, covering some seventy pages, is in the Bib. Nac., Madrid, and was printed in P. & C., VIII, 101-199.

28. The documents regarding the affair are in 58-3-17. Vizcaino's examination of the prisoners is amusing. Speilbergen in his journal published in 1906 in English as the *East and West Indian Mirror* by the Hakluyt Society, states that the Dutch, some 200 in number, landed November 11 and were attacked by a party of Spaniards who had been concealed in the woods. The Dutch were frightened and but for some of the officers would have fled. Taking courage, they charged the Spaniards, who shortly took to flight, but they did not pursue them for fear of another ambush. One Spanish captain and many of the men were killed and wounded and two Dutch soldiers were killed and several wounded. Speilbergen then went to Navidad, where he remained until the 20th, unmolested.

29. June 15, 1629, Vizcaino's son-in-law, Martin de Lezama, testified in the Alvarez Serrano investigation, and referred to the papers which his father-in-law had left him.

30. In 1675 Vizcaino's grandson Nicolas, the one referred to in Note 26, in a petition in the same proceedings states: "After the death of General Sebastian Vizcaino in the year 1628 the petitioner desiring to enter," etc. As there is no punctuation, he may have meant that Vizcaino died in 1628, or that he desired to make an entry in that year, which as a matter of fact, was the year his father Martin de Lezama, Vizcaino's son-in-law, did begin his preparations.

31. Father Antonio did not ratify his declaration made in the Alvarez Serrano investigation March 22, 1632. A certificate follows by two notaries that it had been signed by a companion of Father Antonio whom they knew. It might possibly appear from this that Father Antonio was sick and could not appear. His companions, Fathers Andrés and Tomás, had already passed away.

APPENDIX G

THE BOLAÑOS-ASCENSION DERROTERO

A true and certain *derrotero* by which to navigate from Cabo Mendocino, that is, from the latitude of 42° to the Puerto de Acapulco along the coast of the South Sea, made at the time the exploration from Cabo Mendocino to the Puerto de Acapulco was performed by the orders of the Conde de Monte Rey, viceroy of New Spain, in the year 1602, by Sebastian Vizcaino, *general* of the fleet which made the exploration, and compiled by Father Fray Antonio de la Ascension, a barefoot friar of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, who accompanied the exploration as second cosmographer.

In the latitude of 42° there is a massive¹ cape, apparently a cliff, rising out of the sea. [In the margin: Cabo de San Sebastian in 42° .] From this the coast of lower land runs south about eight leagues, where the land makes another point, massive and bare, with some white bluffs which rise out of the sea. This point in almost $41\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, is called "Cabo Mendocino."²

From here the coast runs south-southeast³ to the latitude of $39\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, of medium elevation, very heavily wooded and with some small bare hills on the shore of the sea. At this latitude a low point of white cliffs rising out of the sea extends out.⁴ From here the coast runs southeast a quarter south to $38\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, where the land makes a point of medium height separated from the coast so that at a distance it appears to be an island. It is called "La Punta de los Reyes" and is a steep *morro*. On its northeast⁵ side this furnishes a very good shelter, making it a good port for all ships. It is in the latitude of $38\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. Note that in anchoring in this port, called "San Francisco," for shelter from the south and southeast winds, you have to do so at the end of the beach in the corner on the west-southwest side. On the northeast side there are three white cliffs very near the sea, and in front of the one in the middle an *estero* enters with a very good mouth without breakers. On going in this, you will soon encounter friendly Indians, and can easily find fresh water.⁶ To the south-southwest of this port are six or seven small white farallons, some larger than others, occupying a space of a little more than a league in circumference. Whoever comes from six leagues off Cabo Mendocino bound for this port, on a course southeast a quarter

[Footnotes beginning with G show the differences in the *Navegacion especulativa* of Gonzalez.]

¹ *Sp.*, *grueso*, a word of frequent occurrence in this document. Its meaning is not always clear. He seems to have used it as the opposite of *delgado*, and consequently meant thick. However, one can hardly call a cape "thick" in English.

² G., $41\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

³ G., "southeast."

⁴ Pt. Arena in $38^{\circ} 57'$. It will be noted that Bolaños puts it just one degree north of the Puerto de San Francisco, and this is almost the exact difference in latitude between them. On later maps it appears as Punta Delgada, Punta de Barrancas, or Tierras de Blanqueales.

⁵ G., "north."

⁶ This information he obtained when with Cermeño.

south, will come to the Punta de los Reyes and will see the farallons, a good landmark to recognize it. Here it was that the ship *San Agustín* was lost in 1595, coming on a voyage of exploration. The loss was caused more by the man commanding her than by the force of the wind.

From the Punta de los Reyes about fourteen leagues southeast a quarter south there is a point.⁷ Before reaching it the country consists in places of sierra, bare to the sea and of medium height with some cliffs. From here the coast runs southeast, low at the sea with cliffs, but soon the country inside becomes massive and wooded until you reach a point of low land in $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ named the "Punta de Año Nuevo." From this point the coast runs to the east, forming a large *ensenada* which ends at a point of low land heavily covered with pine groves down to the sea itself. This was named "Punta de Pinos" and is in 37° . From Punta de Año Nuevo it is about twelve leagues southeast to this point.

On nearing this point, a massive range is seen to the southeast,⁸ extending from the northeast to the southwest. Steering straight towards the point of this from the northeast, the Punta de Pinos will soon be seen. It is a low hill, about two leagues long, running north-northeast and south-southwest, and well covered with groves of pine trees. Near the point on the south side there is a patch of very white cliffs, a very good landmark by which to recognize it. This Punta de Pinos forms on the northeast side a fine port, and continuing in a straight line, you will enter it and can come close to the land in a depth of six fathoms; all the point and the entrance are of rocks. Steering southeast and east, after you have passed the rocks there is a fine beach. Before reaching this there is a very good clean anchorage, sheltered from all winds except that from the north-northwest.

In this port named "Monte Rey," there are many fine pine trees suitable for masts, spars and yards, all very near the beach. Where the rocks end at the beginning of the beach there is an *estero* of salt water in which the tide enters when high. A musket-shot away from the beach southeast of this *estero* and close to it is a very moist flat place where, in digging down a very short distance, very good sweet water in abundance comes out. The port is in the latitude of 37° and is a very good one for relief of the ships from China, as this is the first land sighted on their way to New Spain.

Following the coast from the Punta de Pinos, south-southwest⁹ of it is another fine port which extends from the north to the south, and has shelter from all winds except the two from these directions. In this empties a river of very good water and little depth, on the banks of which are many very high black ash trees, straight and smooth, and many other trees of Castile. It comes down from very high white sierras and is named the "Rio del Carmelo."

From the end of the point just referred to, the coast runs south-southeast

⁷ Probably Pigeon Point.

⁸ G., "southwest."

⁹ In G., a small omission occurs in this sentence and in part of the preceding sentence.

about six leagues, the land being very massive and high with some cliffs rising out of the sea, among which is a very high white peak.¹⁰ The sierra is somewhat extended as the coast runs and when it is clear it can be seen more than twelve leagues at sea. It is named the "Sierra de Santa Lucia," and near it is a *morro* of medium height, round like a loaf which from a distance looks like a very well made farallon.¹¹ In order to see the most of these landmarks you have to sail two leagues from land, which can be done without fear, as the coast is very safe and clean.

From this sierra and *morro* the coast runs southeast a quarter south, high and rugged over the sea with some spots of trees above, until you reach a point of low bare land in $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, named the "Punta de la Concepcion." From this on the coast runs east, inclining a quarter southeast for more than twenty-five leagues of massive country. In the middle of this stretch there are many trees extending from the top of the sierra down to the sea. About eight leagues southeast of this point there is an island of medium size about three leagues in circumference with two or three rocks and a farallon to the north-northwest of it about a league distant which is usually full of seals, and is named the "Farallon de Lobos."

From this island in a line towards the east one after the other are three¹² larger islands. The one farthest to the east is large and high,¹³ trending northeast-southwest and has three farallons on the east side of it, more than a league and a half away. All these islands are very well inhabited with people very friendly to the Spaniards. They make use of some small boats like those of the Ladrões, except that they have no sails or counter-weights. Altogether the islands are about twenty leagues long, and between them and the mainland there is a very good safe passage named the "Canal de Santa Barbara."

Returning to the mainland, where are the woods above referred to, there is a town of friendly Indians near the beach, and as the coast runs from east to west there is not much surf, and you can come close to it with a boat or shallow and any ship can anchor there to relieve its needs. Following the coast, south-southwest with the last island of the four referred to, the land forms an *ensenada* with a clean beach. This is at the end of a massive country which trends south-southeast, and is southwest of the island referred to. This is named "La Punta de la Conversion," and is in full 35° .¹⁴

Note that whoever comes from six leagues off Cabo Mendocino by the course given, southeast a quarter south, will reach the Canal de Santa Barbara without losing sight of land.

From the Punta de la Conversion the coast continues to the east for more than ten leagues, rough and rugged down to the sea, and then the coast forms a large *ensenada* which affords no shelter.¹⁵ The land near the sea is low.

¹⁰ Mount Carmel.

¹¹ Pt. Sur.

¹² G., no "three."

¹³ G., "largest and highest."

¹⁴ G., no "full."

¹⁵ Santa Monica Bay.

From the last of the four islands referred to, southwest a quarter south, is a small island south a quarter southwest of the Punta de la Conversion.¹⁶ About five leagues to the east of this there is a small high island about three leagues in circumference named "Santa Barbara." More than eight leagues to the east of this is another large high island, which must be more than twenty leagues around, the greatest length being from northwest to the southeast. This has many ports on the northeast side sheltered from all winds from the sea. It is well inhabited with very friendly people. The middle of it is in full $34^{\circ} 20'$, almost $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.¹⁷ It is named the "Isla de Santa Catalina." About ten¹⁸ leagues to the south a quarter southeast of this is a very large high island named "San Clemente" in short 34° . Between the mainland and all these islands there is a very good clean passage more than six leagues wide in the narrowest part and in this place more than ten.

From the Punta de la Conversion the coast trends east for more than fourteen leagues, very rough and rugged without any trees to a point which the land makes extending north-south, and with a hill of medium height bare on top, which from afar looks like an island.¹⁹ To the east of this is a very good *ensenada* with shelter from the northwest, west and southwest winds. It is named the "Ensenada de San Pedro" in $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and in it there is a small island. Here are friendly Indians.

From the point of this *ensenada* the coast runs southeast to the latitude of short 34° .²⁰ the land is of medium height near the sea, full of beaches and with some cliffs rising out of the sea in parts. It is very safe and free from shoals. Here there is a hill of low bare land about a league long thrown out from the north-northwest to the south-southeast, which looks like an island from a distance when running along the coast.²¹ When four leagues at sea to the west it seems *vaciado*.²² On the southeast side it is cut off sharply, at the bottom of a white cliff. Northeast of this is a very good port named "San Diego" which is entered from the south. Always keeping close to the middle at a distance of a half a league you pass the land and hill. From the cliff or hill a point of *callaos*²³ runs out to the north comprised of pebbles or heavy ballast. Near the cliff there are ten fathoms of water at high tide and close to the hill, behind the point of pebbles or ballast is a very good anchorage in five or six fathoms, sheltered from all winds and without any sea or surf. From here the port enters the land more than two leagues to the north and north-northeast, all with a good bottom of mud with ten to twelve fathoms of water in the channel. On the east and northeast side the land is low, flat, and with a clean beach, and by

¹⁶ An error for "Concepcion." The island must have been San Nicolas.

¹⁷ B., $34\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.

¹⁸ G., "two," an obvious error.

¹⁹ Pt. Vincente.

²⁰ G., no "short."

²¹ Pt. Loma.

²² G., "*vallado*." It is difficult to say what was meant by either expression.

²³ This word probably means ballast or pebbles, and the point is still known as Ballast Point. G., "Punta de los Guijarros ó Lastre."

reason of the fact that the water runs into it, some *esteros* enter here which make it look like two or three islands. One can enter or leave this port by the flood and ebb tides with much safety. There is very good wood, and sweet water can be found on the east-northeast side of the anchorage in a sand beach by digging some shallow (not very deep) wells. It is in the latitude of almost 34° . Note that on the southwest side of the cliff at the entrance there is a very large field of kelp, but you do not have to be afraid of this, as you can pass through it without danger, as there are twelve or fourteen fathoms of water where this kelp is found. The coast runs from here to the south-southeast.

To the southwest of this port about six leagues distant are three small islands, with some other small farallons, trending northwest-southeast, named the "Islas de San Martin."²⁴ They are a very good landmark to recognize the Puerto de San Diego.

Leaving these islands on a course southeast a quarter south, you come to a large *ensenada* which the mainland forms with an entrance which bears east-southeast to west-northeast,²⁵ very clear and surrounded by land and high rocks. [In the margin: Ensenada de Todos Santos $32^{\circ} 40'$ full.] All this coast is very high and broken land without trees. The *ensenada* has close to it at the entrance on the southeast side, two small islands which can be passed on any side by whomsoever wishes to enter the port. It is called the "Ensenada de Todos Santos" and is in the latitude of $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ full,²⁶ almost two-thirds of a degree. The easternmost island has a peak and the other one to the outside is flat, like a mesa. They are about a musket-shot apart. To the east of these islands there are seven or eight small farallons in a line which run out from the mainland. Between these and the islands you can pass with safety, and can even come close enough to the farallons to stick the bowsprit into them, as the water is very deep all around.

Proceeding, the coast runs southeast a quarter south, the land very broken and the coast very clear of shoals, until you reach a somewhat high small island a little less than a league in circumference, with a ravine at the top. It has no trees. It is called "San Marcos,"²⁷ is in short 32° , and is about two leagues from the mainland, between which and the island you can pass very easily with confidence. Note that from the Ensenada de Todos Santos to this island the coast has some points and *ensenadas*, especially an *ensenada* or large bay ten leagues before reaching the island, which provides shelter only from the west, northwest, north and northeast winds. The country is very pleasant. It has a beach on the north-northeast side and there is a depth of from ten to twelve fathoms, the bottom clean. The bay makes a cape cut off at the sea on the west side, on top of which the land is level. The Indians are warlike and daring. The bay is named "San Quintin." The others are of little account.

²⁴ The Coronados. If Father Antonio corrected this *derrotero* as is claimed, it is strange that he did not use his own name for these islands. G., "Isla de San Martin, south-southwest of San Diego."

²⁵ G., "north-northwest."

²⁶ G., " 32° full."

²⁷ Now known as "San Martin."

From this bay to the island the coast forms some low points, although a short distance from the sea it is high and well settled.²⁸ When sailing six leagues at sea the coast is seen to run southeast a quarter south, and in sighting the island three round peaks will be seen to the east-northeast which look like islands; but they are not, as it is all mainland.

About three leagues to the east-southeast of the Isla de San Marcos the land makes a low point stretching out from northwest to southeast a little more than a league in length. On the north side of this there is a very good *ensenada* sheltered from the northwest and west winds. Close to the point, an *estero* enters in a northwest²⁹ direction. The water is three fathoms deep on the bar, and inside from six to eight.³⁰ Here some very good fresh water can be obtained. In anchoring in the *ensenada* in water six fathoms deep with a clean bottom, very good water can easily be found in holes which can be made in a green cane brake. There are many Indian fishermen, inoffensive and friendly to the Spaniards. It is named the "Baia de las Virgenes" and is in the latitude of 31° 40'.

Turning back to the course southeast a quarter south, four leagues out to sea, you go running along the coast of land of medium uniform height without any trees, until you reach a small island named "San Gerónimo," which has more than a league away, to the southeast a quarter east, some shoals on which the sea breaks. These can be easily seen from a distance and therefore are safe. You can pass between them and the mainland, as the channel is two leagues wide. There are also two from the island to the mainland. This island has two farallons on the east-southeast³¹ side close to it. It is in the latitude of 31½°. Turning again to the course southeast a quarter south, and passing four leagues to seaward of the Isla de San Marcos, you come to an island of medium height in short 31° 20' (about a quarter of a degree) more than twelve³² leagues away from the mainland. It is called the "Isla de Cenizas," and in a line north-south with it are some high mesas, very level on the top and rising out of the sea, which the sailors call "Mesas de Juan Gomez." They are somewhat more than ten leagues long and at the foot of them at the southeast side is a bay named San Francisco [in the margin: in 31° 10'] almost east of this island, and which has shelter from the west-southwest, west, northwest and north.³³ In it there are many Indian fishermen.

Proceeding from this Isla de Cenizas by the course southeast a quarter south, being outside, you will come to the Isla de Cerros, the middle of which is in the latitude of 29°. It is a very high island, full of hills and peaks in the higher part,³⁴ and extends from north to south on the side of the mainland, and on the side of the sea from north-northwest to south-southeast, until you reach a

²⁸ G., "*doblada*," instead of Bolaños' *poblada*.

²⁹ G., "southeast."

³⁰ G., "six, seven or eight."

³¹ G., "southeast."

³² G., "two." In his preceding chapter Cenizas is said to be in 30°.

³³ G., "east-southeast, southeast, and northwest."

³⁴ G., no "higher part."

high round *morro* with two or three farallons close to it, named the "Cabo de San Agustin." From there the island runs to the east-northeast. This island has three sides or coasts, almost in the form of a triangle, and on the northwest side has a very round *morro* which looks like a hat, with two small farallons close to it. It is seventeen³⁵ leagues from this island to the mainland on the north-northeast and more than eight³⁶ to that on the east, which is the nearest. There are no shoals in all its circumference nor in all the sea around about it. More than six leagues to the southeast of Cabo de San Agustin there is another smaller island, sandy and gravelly, entirely bare, trending from the east-southeast to the west-northwest. It is in the latitude of $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, and is called the "Isla de la Natividad de Nuestra Señora." The Isla de Cerros must be more than thirty-six leagues around. Between the small island and the mainland there is a very good passage more than three leagues wide with a clean bottom of twelve to fourteen fathoms of water (in which there is much kelp³⁷).

Note that if you come sailing along this coast in a fog and find yourself in the *ensenada* between the Isla de Cerros and the mainland, there is nothing to fear, because between one island and the other there is a width of more than five leagues, very clean, without anything to be feared, and between the mainland and the small island there is also a good passage as stated, although you will find some very large fields of kelp, commonly called *balsas*. There is nothing to fear from these, as where they grow there is always much depth of water. If perchance there should be need of water it can be found in the Isla de Cerros on the northeast side of the coast running north-south, at the foot of the highest mountains, among some green rushes where a small stream of sweet water comes down from a ravine. Here as much wood and water as necessary may be taken with much ease. Departing from this watering-place for Cabo de San Lucas between one island and the other you have to sail southwest, but the canal is very wide and you can leave it as you wish. If you desire to sail out between the small island and the mainland, the passage is very good and safe as stated.

Having departed from the islands, you steer southeast a quarter south a day's journey and then another³⁸ to the southeast without hesitation. Twelve leagues from the last islands is a very good port called "San Bartolomé" and if you are searching for it, you will soon see it, for it has a small bare hill, which looks like an island, to the southeast of the port. This port has no water or wood and is in the latitude of $28^{\circ} 15'$.³⁹ Continuing by the southeast-a-quarter-south course and having made a day's run of twenty-five leagues, you will be out of sight of land until you reach the latitude of $25^{\circ} 20'$,⁴⁰ where you will see a high round hill which looks like an island. You will pass almost twenty leagues to seaward of the Abreojos, which are some breakers on some shoals a little more

³⁵ G., "eighteen."

³⁶ G., "somewhat less, in places more than eight leagues."

³⁷ In G., the words in parenthesis are omitted.

³⁸ G., no "another."

³⁹ G., " $28\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$."

⁴⁰ G., " $25\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$."

than a league away from land, and very far from our route. They are in the latitude of $27^{\circ} 15'$.

In the latitude of 28° short there are two small islands, northwest-southeast with each other, and almost two leagues apart. That which is to the southeast is named the "Asuncion de Nuestra Señora." On the north side this is low, and has two farallons near it and two little peaks all close together. To the north of it is a line of kelp which connects it with the mainland. If necessary you can pass through this without fear, and the closer you get to the mainland from the middle, the more depth you will find, and the safer the passage, because there is from six to eight fathoms of water. Between this island and the mainland to the east of it there is a large *ensenada*, sheltered from winds from the south to the northwest and the southeast. If you approach the land here east of the island and between it and the mainland, you can anchor very comfortably in eighteen to twenty fathoms of water of very good bottom, a matter of a musket-shot from the island, and with lines you can load a ship here in a very short time with very good fish.

The island to the northwest is small and low, perhaps a league in circumference, and has on the northeast side a good anchorage with a clean bottom. There is nothing to fear in approaching it because everything on this side is of good depth. On the northeast of this anchorage there are some farallons on which the sea breaks, but between them and the island you can anchor without fear. On this island and the other there is an immense number of seals as large as yearling calves. You can secure sweet water easily to the east of the island on the mainland near the beach by digging holes among some sand-banks; but on the north side very little. The country inland is a lagoon in which much very good salt is deposited. The island is named "San Roque." The Indians are not very safe.

In the latitude of $27^{\circ} 15'$, that is, close to the Abreojos, is a very good *ensenada* named "Ballenas," on the east side of which the land forms a cape, rising out of the sea, and above this inland there is a sierra or a high round peak which looks like a loaf of sugar. Within this cape is the *ensenada*, and close to it are some shoals. On the west side is a very low sand point where the sea breaks, so low that it cannot be seen, and appears to be some shoal. Four leagues farther on from this point are the Abreojos, which are some shoals about three leagues from the mainland, and there are others at intervals as far as the mainland. They are soon seen and I do not think that there is any shoal concealed, as all of them show themselves. On the west-northwest side of this bay there are some very high mountains which consist of three hills,⁴¹ very well formed and between them three other smaller ones, one on the northeast side, another on the southwest side, and the other between the two which are towards the northeast, all very distinct from each other. This sierra comes out from a

⁴¹ G. "The Abreojos which have some shoals near the mainland. A little more than a league towards the east-northeast are some high mountains which look like three hills."

high range inland, and reaches the sea.⁴² It is called the "Sierra de los Infantes." In this bay there is an infinite number of whales which I think come to live on the fish which in immense numbers are found here, as well as birds of various kinds and forms, flying about in pursuit of the fish for their food. There are many good Indians here, affable and friendly to the Spaniards, and who give what they have.

On the course above mentioned, these islands are not seen nor this or other *ensenadas*, nor the shoals of Abrejos along this coast, and I therefore do not speak further of them, as they are away from the route and course here laid out.

Having reached the place referred to in 25° 20', to the southeast of the hill which looks like an island is an *ensenada* of low land which I suspect has shoals in it.⁴³ [In the margin: Isla de la Magdalena 25°.]⁴⁴ From here the coast runs on to the southeast a quarter east ten leagues from this hill to where there is a bay⁴⁵ about two leagues wide. Within there is a port called the "Baia de la Magdalena" in 25°, affording very good shelter from all the winds. In order to recognize this port, the following landmarks are set down; on the northwest side the land forms a small bare range⁴⁶ and about a league before reaching the mouth of the port there is at the top of this a round hill which from the southeast, that is, southeast of the mouth of the port,⁴⁷ looks like a well-formed volcano. There are also two farallons at the entrance close to the land on the northwest side which can be seen four leagues at sea. The point on the southeast side also throws out a line of reefs on which the sea can be seen to break from afar; and the point itself is massive and bare. On entering the mouth, on the northwest side at the foot of the volcano and to the east of it⁴⁸ you will find a good anchorage, sheltered from all winds. There is no water or wood in the port. The bay continues to the east-southeast and southeast for more than twelve leagues, where there is another entrance from the sea, and where there is a good bay called "Santa Maria,"⁴⁹ which on the northwest side has a high bare *morro* which throws out a line of shoals.⁵⁰ On the southeast side of this, there is a beach so low that from afar the hill and *morro* look like an island when seen coming from the southeast.⁵¹ This bay is in the latitude of 24½°, and has an entrance a quarter of a league wide, but there are not more than four fathoms

⁴² G. "From this sierra some high cliffs extend from inland until they reach the sea."

⁴³ G. "Proceeding from 25° 15' on our course, to the southeast of the hill that looks like an island there is an *ensenada* in a low country, but according to the information I have about it, it is full of shoals."

⁴⁴ Notwithstanding the note in the margin, this was the Ensenada de Santa Marta on the Isla de la Magdalena.

⁴⁵ G., "*voca*," that is, an entrance.

⁴⁶ G. "On the northwest side the land is level."

⁴⁷ G. omits this interpolation.

⁴⁸ G. omits, "at the foot of the volcano to the east of this."

⁴⁹ G. "To the southeast you will find more than twelve fathoms of water where another bay is formed named Santa Marina." Bolaños wrote Santa Ma^a, an abbreviation which usually stand for Maria, but Gonzalez was right.

⁵⁰ G. adds, "to the southeast."

⁵¹ G. omits this sentence.

of water on the bar. On the west side of it there are some high rugged *morros*. The navigators from China call this bay the "Puerto de Marqués."⁵²

Returning to our course, when as far on as the Baia de Magdalena in $25^{\circ} 53'$ and four leagues to sea, steering southeast a quarter east you will come in sight of some high mountains called "Enfado," the end of which to the northwest is in the latitude of $23\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ full. From here you have to steer more to the east-southeast. The country continues all of massive sierras to near the Cabo de San Lucas, where it becomes narrower.

Cabo de San Lucas is low land, and shows before reaching it three small peaks almost in a triangle. A white sand dune on the beach, a good league before reaching the cape, is a good⁵⁴ landmark. Anyone who wishes to enter the port at this cape has nothing to do except approach this sand dune and run along the coast. Soon three white cliff-like farallons very close together will be seen. Approach these and then turn northeast and north-northeast,⁵⁵ when the Baia de San Bernabé, which is behind them, will soon be seen. The bay is a good port and very deep. You should anchor off the beach on the northwest side and the farther you get away from the rocks the better and cleaner is the anchorage.⁵⁶ To the northeast there is a cane brake on the beach where there is much sweet water. The bay and cape are in latitude $23^{\circ} 20'$.⁵⁷ There is plenty of wood and fish, and it is a good summer port, but in other seasons I do not consider it safe,⁵⁸ as it is not sheltered from the southeast or south-southeast winds.

Departing from this port for the Cabo de Corrientes, the first land of Christians seen by the ships which come from China, you must steer east-southeast until you see three islands in the middle of the crossing called "Las Tres Marias." These extend from northwest to southeast. The one to the northwest is the largest and has a farallon on the northwest side, and is about forty leagues more or less from Cabo de San Lucas. They are islands of medium size, about ten leagues in length all together, and very well covered with trees and with much game.⁵⁹ From the one on the southeast to the Cabo de Corrientes, it is about twenty leagues. [In the margin: By this course you will pass more than four leagues to the seaward of these islands.]

If one wishes to go from the Cabo de San Lucas to the Islas de Maçatlan [in the margin: Islas de Maçatlan in 23° ; the distance across here is forty leagues], you have to steer east and east-northeast if the currents are running to the south. You will then come to the said islands, or ten or twelve leagues to the windward of them, that is, to the northwest.⁶⁰ The islands are two in

⁵² G. "This bay is in $24\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. It has an entrance a quarter of a league wide, and no more than four fathoms of water in it."

⁵³ G., " 24° ."

⁵⁴ G., "the best."

⁵⁵ G., no "north-northeast."

⁵⁶ G. omits the last part of this sentence.

⁵⁷ G., " $22\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$."

⁵⁸ G. omits this opinion.

⁵⁹ G., "*casas*," instead of "*Caza*."

⁶⁰ G. says the islands were northwest.

number, small and round, not very high, and close to the land. Between them and the land on the east is a good anchorage and you will find four or five fathoms of water and clean bottom. The best entrance to this anchorage is between the two islands, on which breed a great number of pelicans and other birds. To the east-southeast⁶¹ there are some white farallons, and to the south-east of these a very large *estero* enters, forming a good port. In this there is sweet water close to the beach and plenty of fish. For a large ship the best entrance to the anchorage between the islands and the mainland is between one island and the other. The islands are in the latitude of 23° and almost two-thirds.⁶² Besides this there are along the coast to the Cabo de Corrientes many good ports, and large rivers empty into the sea. All the coast is settled with Spaniards, who have very large haciendas.

The Cabo de Corrientes is heavy rugged country containing few trees. Inside to the east is a high range with peaks at the highest part called "Los Coronados." To the northeast of the cape is a large *ensenada* which enters the country more than ten leagues to the east-northeast, called the "Valle de Banderas." On the northwest side, that is, the other side of the Valle de Banderas, are some small farallons close to two medium sized islands called the "Islas de Tintoque."⁶³ They are safe, as there is nothing to fear beyond what can be seen above water. The Cabo de Corrientes is in the latitude of 20° 40'. From here the coast runs south-southeast and southeast a quarter south for more than twenty-five leagues of clean and safe beach to a low point which has three or four rocks close to it. From here to the southeast the coast begins to form an *ensenada*. Three leagues from the point are four or five very small islands, very close to the mainland, which for *fragatas* furnish a good anchorage under their shelter. To the east-northeast of the one in the middle there are on the mainland some houses where usually some Spanish fishermen⁶⁴ from the Villa de la Purificacion live. There is good sweet water where these houses are and the place is called the "Islas de Chamela."⁶⁵

From here the coast runs southeast about six leagues of safe land to two small farallons which, before reaching them, look like two ships under sail if you are sailing close to land.⁶⁶ They are called the "Farallones de Apaçulco."⁶⁷ From here the coast runs southeast a quarter east and even more.⁶⁸ Four leagues distant from these farallons are five or six others, large and small, off the mainland, extending from the east-northeast to the west-southwest. To the east of these a matter of about three leagues is the Puerto de la Navidad. The landmarks are: on the southeast side two large *morros* north-south of each other,

⁶¹ G., "east."

⁶² G., "23½°."

⁶³ G., "Tinto."

⁶⁴ G. has "Spaniards" instead of "Spanish fishermen."

⁶⁵ G., Chamela, only.

⁶⁶ G. omits the last clause.

⁶⁷ G. omits this sentence.

⁶⁸ G. omits "even more."

between which there is a ravine, so that from a distance they look like islands;⁶⁹ the one nearest the sea has a well-formed farallon close to it, which looks like the top of a pillar and about a cannon-shot from this farallon to seaward is a black rock above the water which looks like a shallop. There is no shoal or reef beyond what appears above the water.⁷⁰ To the north-northeast⁷¹ of this rock there are some whitish rocks and on the land side of these between them and the landmarks just referred to, there is a piece of clean beach about a league in length at the end of which, on the northwest side, under the shelter of the rocks is a very good summer port, called the "Puerto de Melaque." On the mainland close to the beach in the woods there is a plentiful supply of sweet water. At the end of the beach on the southeast side close to the high *morro* an *estero* enters which makes, just inside, a bay, but it is only one for small *fragatas*.⁷² This is what they call the "Puerto de la Navidad," where they built the first ships which went to China. It is in short $19\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$.⁷³

Departing from this port, five leagues distant there is a very white loaf-shaped farallon, a quarter of a league from land. To the southeast of this lies a very large bay two long leagues across the mouth. Entering by this, towards the east-northeast, you will soon see a clean beach about two leagues long, at the northwest part of which there is a corner with a small island which shelters it and makes it a very good port for all winds. It has good sweet water and is called the "Puerto de Salagua,"⁷⁴ the same as the navigators from China call the "Puerto de Santiago."⁷⁵ At the end of the beach on the southeast side is a very good port called "Las Caletas."⁷⁶ Note, at the entrance to this bay on passing a white farallon close to the northwest side, are four or five rocks above the water, which can be passed on any side without danger. A little farther on to the north-northwest is a large *ensenada* of which I give no details because it has neither water nor anything else of value.

From the Puerto de Salagua onward the coast runs to the east-southeast about eight leagues to a flat beach full of trees, where a hill is seen about two leagues from the sea extending northeast-southwest which looks like a galley with an awning over it. From this beach a very wide valley extends to the north-northeast,⁷⁷ called the "Valle de Caxitlan,"⁷⁸ covered with cacao plantations and ranches of the Villa de Colima, which is about eight leagues inland. About four leagues northwest of this is a very high volcano which emits smoke, although very little. It can be seen from a great distance.

⁶⁹ G. adds, "but are not."

⁷⁰ G. interpolates here a sentence in regard to the Volcano of Colima being a landmark for Navidad.

⁷¹ G., "northeast."

⁷² G. omits the last clause.

⁷³ G., "19° short."

⁷⁴ This is where the present town of Manzanillo is located. Santiago was in the north-east part of the bay. It is quite likely, however, that many writers did not distinguish between the two.

⁷⁵ G. adds, "eight leagues from Navidad."

⁷⁶ The end of the bay still bears this name.

⁷⁷ G., no "north-northeast."

⁷⁸ G., "Catlan."

Following along the coast for five or six leagues,⁷⁹ at the end of the beach there is a point called "Punta de Suchisi," massive and very rugged with a *morro* of medium size rising out of the sea which from a distance looks like an island.

Here begin the Motines, a massive very rugged country. From this *punta* the coast runs southeast but soon turns nearly east. The Motines continue for more than twenty leagues.⁸⁰ The coast is very safe and whoever passes by in November or December will do better by sailing near shore than outside by reason of the land winds. Leaving this coast of Motines, the country at once becomes lower on the seacoast and a clean beach soon begins which extends for more than eighteen⁸¹ leagues. Going along this, about eight leagues beyond the Motines the beach is filled with mangroves and other trees, very high and thick, and in front of a ravine north-northeast of these mangroves is where the Rio de Zacatula empties. A league from the sea on the bank of the river is the Villa de Zacatula.⁸²

From here the coast runs on east-southeast for more than ten leagues of clean beach, at the end of which a very high sierra begins, which can be seen for many leagues, if it is clear. It is called the "Sierra de Pantla,"⁸³ and in the middle of it there is a lower hill which extends down to the sea. Close to this will be seen four or five farallons of medium size and small, and on the north-east of these an *ensenada* forms and extends north to a beach at the end of it. In the middle of the *ensenada* is a round bare farallon.

From the farallons just mentioned at the mouth of the *ensenada*, a good league to the east about a cannon-shot from land, is a small black farallon. To the north of this between some cliffs rising out of the sea is the Puerto de Siguatanejo, in the latitude of 18°.⁸⁴ Note that this port cannot be seen, as it is between some cliffs, but in going from the farallon towards the north the mouth is soon discovered, and a beach within the port appears, and the anchorage which is to the northwest can be seen. The port is a very good safe one, has water and mangrove timber suitable for yards and masts, and fruits of the country. On leaving this port, the coast soon forms an *ensenada* more than two leagues long of clean beach, extending to a round *morro*, not very large, which from a distance looks like an island. Near it are two very white farallons, between which and the land⁸⁵ any ship can pass.

From here the coast runs east-southeast almost eight leagues, although it forms an *ensenada* which they call "El Calvario." At the end of this *ensenada* there is a point of medium height in the shape of a peak which from a distance

⁷⁹ G., "six."

⁸⁰ G., "twenty-two." G. has entirely rewritten the description of this part of the coast, although he has embodied some of the information contained in the Bolaños *derrotero*.

⁸¹ G., "fifteen."

⁸² G. omits this sentence.

⁸³ G., "Sierra de Plata."

⁸⁴ G., "17° 36'."

⁸⁵ G., "between them."

looks like an island, called the "Punta de Petatlan."⁸⁶ It trends northeast-southwest. From here to the Puerto de Acapulco the distance is twenty-four leagues more or less.

From here the coast runs east and east-southeast,⁸⁷ to the Puerto de Acapulco, and five or six leagues from the point is a great grove of high trees more than a half a league long. Here commences the Playa de Tecpa,⁸⁸ which continues to Acapulco for more than eighteen leagues. The beach is clean without hill or point of any kind.

More than fifteen leagues before reaching the Puerto de Acapulco, if it is clear, you will see a high mountain with a mesa on top of it extending from northeast to the southwest, which from a distance looks like an island. On approaching it another lower country appears joined to it on the southwest⁸⁹ side. Sailing directly towards this, the point which extends farthest from the land and also looks like an island has in it⁹⁰ the Puerto de Marqués. This is southeast of the Puerto de Acapulco. Another small hill soon appears, the Isla Redonda, between the north side of which and the mainland is the entrance to the Puerto de Acapulco. Although the channel seems narrow, it is very safe, and can be entered without fear. There then appears on the northeast side a large beach, towards which you sail straight until the corner opens up where the houses are. If the wind is from the northwest, you have to sail as close to it as possible, and when you arrive you can anchor without any fear whatever. Note that the large sierra above the Puerto de Acapulco is called the "Sierra de Zitla." The port is in 17°.⁹¹

This *derrotero* was made in the years 1602 and 1603 by the pilot Francisco de Bolaños, and corrected and added to with many matters which were lacking by Padre Fray Antonio de la Ascension, a barefoot friar of Nuestra Señora del Carmen, while occupying the position of cosmographer. The *derrotero* was made when the fleet went to discover Cabo Mendocino, and all the coast from there to the Puerto de Acapulco. The commander of the fleet was Sebastian Vizcaino, and the governor of New Spain, the Conde de Monterey, the viceroy. It was finished March 23, the day of San Benito Abad, the Friday on which the *Capitana* [torn] entered the said port.

⁸⁶ G., "Satlan."

⁸⁷ G., no "east-southeast."

⁸⁸ G., "Playa del Puerto de Acapulco."

⁸⁹ G., "southeast."

⁹⁰ G., "is" instead of "has in it."

⁹¹ From the Isla Redonda above mentioned, G.'s text is different and worth quoting, as it accords better with the facts. "Isla Redonda which provides two entrances to the Puerto de Acapulco, by either of which a ship of very great burden can pass. I am of the opinion that the best is by the Boca Grande, because the other, Boca Chica, is very narrow and can only be attempted with a favorable wind. The best entrance is always by the Boca Grande. Entering by this you will see to the northeast a great beach, and you have to keep on sailing until the corner where the houses are opens up. When you see them, go straight towards them, and there is anchorage wherever it seems advisable. Note that when eight or nine leagues to the west of the port you will see towards the northeast among some mountains two rather large peaks, which are called the 'Dos Tetras.' When seen from this place they are somewhat separated. When one covers the other and they bear north, you will then be as far on as the Playa de Coyuca. Also take note that the high country over the Puerto de Acapulco is called the Sierra de Siclata. The port is in the latitude of 16° 45'."

CONCLUSION

The search for a port on the northwest coast of America ended with the voyage of Vizcaino. A fairly thorough examination of the coast had been made as far north as Pt. Reyes and some knowledge of the coast beyond to Pt. St. George had been obtained. The Conde de Monterey appears to have been satisfied with the results and Vizcaino afterwards claimed that if the Conde had not been promoted to be viceroy of Peru at such a critical juncture a settlement would have been made at Monterey. Doubtless, Vizcaino had good reasons for this opinion, but it is certain that the Conde's successors were very skeptical about the advantages which he expected to derive from such a settlement. No particular criticism was indulged in regarding his choice of Monterey. Father Antonio in his account, as will be recalled, stated that they all had felt that San Diego met all the requirements the government had in view. Such, of course, was the fact; San Diego in reality was a far more appropriate place than Monterey. The port was much better sheltered and could be entered by ships coming from Manila without the necessity of having to beat against contrary winds in order to reach Monterey. Furthermore, it was nearer to the settlements on the coast of Mexico, from which the supplies necessary to maintain it would have to be secured. If the account of the Cabrillo expedition had been lost or mislaid, as we may suppose to have been the case, the publication in 1615 by Herrera of an account of his voyage must have brought to the attention of the authorities the superior advantages of San Diego. This also, no doubt, helped to reinstate in its proper place Cabrillo's voyage and to dim the lustre with which the chroniclers of the Vizcaino expedition had adorned his. Cabrillo was not looking for a port, otherwise he would have discovered the Harbor of Monterey when in the bay. If we compare the equipment of his vessels with those furnished Vizcaino and realize that he made the voyage to Pt. Reyes in much shorter time and with, we may feel certain, much smaller loss of men, we cannot but feel that his was much the greater achievement. When he set out nothing was known of the coast beyond Cedros, unless we assume that Ulloa had returned after reaching a point perhaps as high as $31\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. Vizcaino, on the contrary, had the advantage of having with him Bolaños who had accompanied Cermeño along the whole northern part of the coast, even if he did not carry with him records of other voyagers from Manila who must have seen that coast at different points and perhaps followed it south from the neighborhood of 42° , as was so frequently asserted.

All the contemporary evidence found by the writer that the Spanish government sent out any of these expeditions with the view of finding a strait to the north has been set before the reader. It will be for him to judge what part, if any, this object may have played. It is astonishing that it is so little, in view of the importance afterwards attributed to it by writers on the subject. The Spaniards seemed to have been glad to let well enough alone. They felt comparatively safe in the Pacific and did not propose to furnish any assistance to the freebooters of the age who would take advantage of any such passage when once discovered. The Conde de Monterey seems to have voiced this attitude in

his instructions to his successor, when he said that he had always thought it a good plan to do no more than explore the pearl fishery and the coasts, feeling it unwise to push the discoveries too far north for fear that something might be found which would awaken someone still asleep. The repeated efforts of the English to discover the eastern entrance to the Northwest Passage always elicited the interest of the Council of the Indies, as might be expected. That body advanced on one occasion the academic opinion that Coronel's proposal to search for the western entrance was an important matter, and that was all.

The other theory which has been exploited to some extent that the expeditions after 1580 were brought on by Sir Francis Drake's intrusion into the Pacific finds no foundation whatever in any document seen by the writer. Just when the Spanish authorities became aware of the fact that Drake had been on the northwest coast is very uncertain, but it never seems to have given them any concern. No doubt they reasoned, and reasoned correctly, that there was nothing on that coast enticing enough to induce anyone to make a settlement there.

California presents to the traveler by sea a frowning face, only here or there is there an opening in the range of cliffs or mountains which gives a glimpse of the interior. Mountains and more mountains everywhere are the features of the landscape. The indications of agricultural possibilities enlarged upon by Vizcaino as well as mentioned by Cermeño and Unamuno were more apparent than real. Only limited sections of California adjacent to the coast will produce grain without irrigation. The great agricultural parts of the state are somewhat removed from the coast and were never seen by any of the early explorers. The Indians, except those living along the channel and on the islands opposite, were on a very low level of civilization, living largely on natural seeds, fruits, and nuts, what game they could snare and what fish they could catch. One would gather from the accounts of the various explorers that, except along the channel they were not very numerous, at least in Upper California, nor, with some striking exceptions, were they particularly friendly. The last thing they wanted, probably, was the intrusion of strangers. They were willing to barter what they had for beads and iron and were evidently interested in the actions and dress of the strangers. These, in turn, have left us some interesting descriptions of some of the tribes they encountered from which ethnologists can draw much interesting information.

Living as we do in a great commonwealth, famed for its mineral and agricultural riches, we are apt to forget that these, with the single exception of gold, are riches only because of modern transportation conditions. At the time that Cabrillo and Vizcaino visited the territory gold was the only resource that could have been exploited, and that lay too far from the coast to be discovered by any maritime expedition. The timber, grain, fruits, petroleum, and the multitudinous products which now bring wealth to this region were valueless or would have been had they been produced. One of the reasons why gold and silver occupied such a large share of the attentions of the many adventurers from the various European countries and were so eagerly sought, lay in the fact that by reason of their great value in small bulk they and they alone could be exported to purchase necessities or luxuries of life.

HENRY R. WAGNER.

DOCUMENTARY

THE FRÉMONT EPISODE

(CONTINUED FROM VOL. VII, No. 1)

[Sloat to Montgomery Regarding Yerba Buena and Frémont]

[Printed in 30th Cong. 2d. Sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, p. 1015]

[Telegraphic.]

Flag-ship Savannah,

July 7, 1846.

SIR: Your launch left yesterday. I enclose you two documents, by which you will see what I have done.

I hoisted the American flag here to-day at nine, a.m.

You will immediately take possession of Y—— B——, and hoist the American flag within range of your guns; post up the proclamation in both languages; notify Captain Frémont and others; put the fort and guns in order.

I wish very much to see and hear from Captain F——, that we may understand each other and co-operate together.

Very respectfully,

J. D. S.

Captain J. B. M.,

U. S. Ship Portsmouth.

[Sloat to Montgomery Regarding Operations]

[Printed in 30th Cong. 2d. Sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pp. 1023-24]

Flag-ship Savannah,

Bay of Monterey, July 12, 1846

SIR: I have one hundred marines and two hundred men on shore well armed, and also two 18 pounder carronades mounted for field pieces, and can land the remainder of my force in a few minutes, if necessary.

By the best information I can obtain, Frémont was at the Pueblo [of San José] the day before yesterday, and probably at St. John's [San Juan] yesterday. I sent a letter to him two days since by express, and yesterday a message by an American, who was on his way to Yerba Buena, who promised to see him; he has, also, a message for you. I am, therefore, in momentary expectation of hearing from him. Castro buried two field pieces, with their shot, at St. John's, and is flying before Frémont. Report says that all Castro's men have left him but about one hundred; and he will probably not stop until they reach Santa Barbara, or the City of Angels, where the civil governor is.

There are no guns at this place, and you know the state of the forts. I am making a stockade around the rear of the upper battery, and shall build a blockhouse there, upon which I shall mount two or three of my 42-pounders to protect that side; on the front, I shall mount three or four of my long 32's to

protect and defend the bay. I am organizing a large party of cavalry to keep a lookout for any force that may be advancing, and to protect the farmers in the neighborhood, as there are some robbers about who are driving off the horses, under the pretence that they are taking them for the government, under orders of Castro.

The captain of the port, and four other Mexican officers, came in yesterday and gave themselves up as prisoners of war, and were put upon their parole of honor, obligating themselves not to interfere, directly or indirectly, during the war, unless regularly exchanged. The military commandant, Silva, and several others, will come in to-day, and many soldiers. I shall probably confiscate the property of those who are operating against us, if they do not come over very shortly.

I have information from the Pueblo that yesterday forty foreigners in that town wanted to hoist our flag, but had no bunting. I shall send them some at first opportunity, and shall direct them to organize themselves into a company of cavalry, choose their own officers, for the protection of their own property against marauders and the Indians, and then report to me. When organized and reported, they will be mustered into service and receive instructions from me.

I have issued a notice that any person found guilty of plundering horses, cattle, &c., or maltreating the farmers or other peaceable inhabitants, will be made personally liable for the amount, be otherwise punished, and their property confiscated. I wish you to do likewise.

Send me word when the Erie arrives, and a return of the stores on board.

Send a courier to me *every week*, but do not pay him until he brings you a receipt from me. Send back this courier with a receipt, &c., immediately, and with your communications.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant, &c.

JOHN D. SLOAT,
Commander-in chief, &c.

To Commander J. B. Montgomery,
U. S. ship Portsmouth, San Francisco

[Fallon to Montgomery, Offering to Raise U. S. Flag at San José]

[Mr. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Copy]

Pueblo St. Jose
July 12th 1846

Capt. Montgomery. Sir,

I have arrived here with nineteen men, with the expectation of joining Capt. Fremont but he has not yet arrived here, I therefore Send an express to you for orders what to do we are at your command if you wish we will hoist the American Flag and protect it here. I want an immediate answer if you can get horses to Send the express back on, & if you would Send Six guns and pistols Ammunition &c. I can get men to use them. Castro has gone down to the lower

country last wednesday and is traveling down as fast as he can. Governor Pico has been trying [to] raise troops down at the lower Pueblo [Los Angeles] but cant get more than one hundred men I have this news from an American direct from there Mr. Charles Weber has been taken prisoner by Castro and [he] is taking him down with him.

CAPT. G FALLON

P. S. I will remain here till I receive your answer. The Flag that was put up here was cut down before we came here, but I hope it never Shall happen again.

G. F.

[Montgomery to Fallon, Accepting His Offer]

[*Ibid.* Copy]

U. S. Ship Portsmouth

Yerba Buena July 13th, 1846

Sir,

I have just received your letter of yesterday forwarded from the Pueblo St. Josephs, informing me that you had arrived there with nineteen men in the expectation of joining Capt. Fremont, but he having not yet arrived, you were induced to send an express to me for instructions what to do, as you were prepared to hoist the Flag of the United States, and to protect it if it Should be my wish. In reply Sir permit me to Say, that the United States & central Government of Mexico being at war that it is my wish, and that of the commander in chief at Monterey to See the American Flag hoisted in every part of California where there Shall be found Sufficient force & patriotism honorably to Sustain it, and if you think that your present force at the Pueblo with the accessions which I am told by the bearer of your letter, you are expecting will be Sufficient to that end, I would recommend to you by all means to do as you propose.

The Six Muskets & ammunition which you request me to furnish are at your disposal, the arms as a loan to be returned again when required or when you Shall have been furnished with others, but as I have no means of Sending them, I would advise you to Send five of your men to Yerba Buena in order to receive them the Sixth being Sent by your courier; I send you a receipt for the articles which you will please Sign and return by the men whom you Shall send for the Arms.

I Shall by the earliest opportunity notify the Commander in Chief Commodore Sloat now at Monterey of your gratifying proposition who will I am perswaded duly appreciate the Spirit which dictated it.

The Flag of the United States is now flying at Sonoma, Bodega, & Sutters Fort, and will no doubt Soon wave over the whole of California.

I Shall be pleased to hear from you as opportunity's are afforded.

I am Sir Respectfully

Your Ob't Serv't.

Signed. JN^o. B MONTGOMERY

Commanding U. S. Ship Portsmouth

To

Capt. Tho^s. Fallon)
Pueblo of St. Josephs)
Upper California)

P. S. I think it will be weell (if it has not already been done) for you to call your Company together and elect the necessary officers to Command & direct them in order to [have] a more efficient organization, which has been done by a number of foriegn residents at this place with excellent Success

Respy. J. B. M.

[Montgomery to Sloat, Reporting Conditions at Yerba Buena]

[*Ibid.* Original]

U. S. Ship Portsmouth

Yerba Buena

July 15th 1846.

Sir/

Your Letter of the 12th inst has just reached me forwarded by M^r. Stokes from the Puebla, to whom I shall send this without any certainty of its being forwarded to you.

Having forwarded two communication by M^r. Die and M^r. Pitts your two first couriers, on Thursday and Sunday last; with information of a full compliance with your instructions of the 7th inst, which I feel confident, has duly reached you, I have now to report the safe return of my Launch on the 11th inst, after rather a severe passage of five days. In my first letter I informed you of the condition of the guns in the Fort at the entrance to the Bay, and that two brass eighteen pounders might be brought down from Sonoma, where they are of no manner of use, and be eligibly disposed of for the defence of this anchorage. I will now repeat that my Launch can transport said guns without difficulty, should you think proper to direct their removal. The two Brass Guns in the Fort (all that are worth anything) can I believe be recovered by boring new vents, and a long brass 12 has been already brought in from the Presidio, where it was buried. I am wholly at a loss, as to the whereabouts of Cap^t. Fremont — I wrote to him by an Officer (Purser Watmough) on the day of hoisting the Flag here; feeling certain that it would reach him almost immediately at the Pueblo San Joseph to which point I supposed him marching from the Sacramento; and since, hearing that he passed by another route on his way to Monterey, I concluded that he is now there without getting my letter. Every thing is perfectly quiet here, and no apprehension whatever of disturbance from

an enemy. Indeed Sir, I am persuaded that no hostile opposition will be offered by the people of California to our occupation of the Country. The American Ship *Vandalia* arrived here yesterday, 18 days from S^a. Diego bringing news of a revolution in the south, by the American and Foreign residents, who have possessed themselves of the arms & munitions of that section, with a view to oppose Castro, whom it was reported was moving his forces against them; which must have been nearly simultaneous with the revolution at the north. I have the honor for your information to enclose copies of a letter received from Cap^t Tho^s. Fallon and my answer. I perceive by your Letter, that you were previously apprised of the state of affairs at Puebla St Joseph.

As M^r. Howard is expected here to day or to morrow from Monterey, I hope by him to receive later instructions from you. I am doing nothing to the old Fort except removing the Brass Guns, with a view to their recovery — as it is too far distant from my anchorage, & will require means not in my power to command at present to restore it to order. I will endeavour however to protect this anchorage and Town — by such means as I have, against anything that shall oppose us.

We are all well — except myself having had a severe bilious attack of several days continuance, from which I am now recovering.

I have the honor to be

Sir,

Your ob^t. Serv^t.

To/

JN^o B MONTGOMERY

Commodore Jno. D. Sloat

Commander

Commanding the Naval Forces of the

U. States in the Pacific.

There are I am informed, a quantity of small arms of various discriptions at Sonoma which would probably be serviceable in arming the men now enrolling for the defense of our newly acquired teritory. Would it not be well to have an inventory taken of them. — I shall be happy to receive your instructions concerning them.

Resply

J B M

[Fallon to Sloat, Reporting on Situation at San José]

[*Ibid.* Original]

Pueblo St Jose July 16th 1846

Dear sir

Not having horses sufficiently fresh to carry us to Cap^t Freemonts camp and the Justice having need of a small force at this place to enable him to enforce the laws we will with your permission stop at this place until such time as we are ordered on active service there is a number of lawless characters in the vicinity of this place (principally foreigners) who have taken an active part with Gen^l. Castro in all underhand measures to anoy the Americans here before

we had any protection from our government, two of them we were in search of to day the men who had our fellow citizen M^r Weaver [Weber] taken we have not succeeded in captureing them as yet but we will I have no doubt, should it meet your views we (we) would wish you to arm the six men of our company who acompanied Liutenant Galespie to Monterey and have them placed under the one you think most competent and sent back, I am hapy to inform you we have (acording to your wishes) hoisted the star spangled baner on the 14th Inst, and we hope it may wave & dispense its blessings throughout this country, we will have our company full in a few days when we will report to you

To

Commodore J^{no} D. Sloat
 Commanding the U S Naval
 forces in the pacific
 At Monterey

We have the honor to
 to remain &c

THO^s FALLON Capt.,
 W BLACKBURN Liut.,

[Larkin to Sloat, Telling of Movements of Frémont and Gillespie]

[*Ibid.* Original]

Commodore Sloat

Sir — Captain Fremont rec'd my letters near New Helvitia, and immediately started for the Pueblo of San Jose — where he should be to day. Mr Gillespie left the Camp for Monterey with twelve men, and will be here to day, Captain Fremont having two hundred and not many Horses may not be here for two or three days —

Monterey 16 July 46

I am yours

Respectfully

THOMAS O. LARKIN

Com^o

John D. Sloat —
 Com^t U. S. Naval
 California

[Larkin to Stockton re Gillespie]

[Larkin's Official Correspondence I, 143]

[Copy]

Consulate of the United States of America
 Monterey California July 17th 1846

Confidential

Sir

Mr Gillespie will visit you this forenoon, and I presume explain to you his views, and future intentions — I am afraid he has imbibed local views respecting this country and its people, and may be governed by such impressions.

— In my views of affairs before us, we should so continue what has been begun, without having our minds, or views prescribed by the Pacific Ocean and the Rocky Mountains, the world at large and posterity will only look for National and extended views, for the good of our Country in common. — I as a long Resident in California for many years may be prejudiced against some (which I am not) yet by no means would remember anything of the past, in conducting my future operations, and hope Mr Gillespie may be of this way of thinking, should you find he is, as I have supposed, I hope from your conversation he will change his opinions.

I am Sir Yours Respectfully
THOMAS O LARKIN

Commodore Robert F Stockton)
U. S. Ship Congress)

RECENT AUCTION PRICES

Early Western History, Literature & Narratives. The library of the Right Rev. Nathaniel S. Thomas. Anderson Galleries, Jan. 30, 1929, New York. 357 lots.

The owner of this library was for many years the Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Wyoming, and his collection related chiefly to the history of that state. It was gathered with care and excellent judgment. In it there were numerous rarities, and some of the prices which were obtained are greater than any heretofore realized. It would appear that these prices must have been paid by eager and interested collectors. For the purposes of dealers books at such prices would be a most unprofitable form of investment. All of which seems to indicate the stability of values, and the continued interest of those who collect Western Americana.

6. Applegate, Jesse. *Recollections of my boyhood.* Roseburg, Or., 1914. \$30.00
22. Bonner, T. D. *Life and adventures of Beckwourth.* N. Y., 1856. \$35.00
30. Brooks, J. T. *Four months among the gold-finders.* London, 1849. \$25.00
31. Brown, James S. *Life of a pioneer.* Salt Lake City, 1909. \$35.00
36. Buckskin Mose. N. Y., 1873. \$37.50
38. Burnett, Peter H. *Recollections and opinions.* N. Y., 1880. \$30.00
42. Cannon, George Q. *Writings from the "Western Standard."* Liverpool, 1864. \$120.00
44. Carr, John. *Pioneer days in California.* Eureka, Cal., 1891. \$60.00
57. Coke, Henry J. *Ride . . . to Oregon and California.* London, 1852. \$40.00
58. Cole, Cornelius. *Memoirs.* N. Y., 1908. \$52.50
69. Coyner, David H. *The lost trappers.* Cincinnati, 1847. \$42.50
71. Crawford, C. H. *Scenes of earlier days.* Petaluma, Cal., 1898. \$55.00
79. Delano, Alonzo. *Life on the plains.* Auburn, 1854. \$70.00
115. Greenhow, Robert. *History of Oregon and California.* Boston, 1845. Map. \$27.50
116. Gregg, Josiah. *Commerce of the prairies.* N. Y., 1844. \$85.00
129. Hobbs, James. *Wild life in the Far West.* Hartford, 1873. \$30.00
133. Hughes, John T. *Doniphan's expedition.* Cincinnati, 1848. \$27.50
135. Hunter, George. *Reminiscences of an Old Timer.* Battle Creek, 1888. \$15.00
137. Ide, William B. *Biographical sketch of.* [Claremont, 1880.] \$45.00
161. Johnston, William G. *Experiences of a Forty-niner.* Pittsburgh, 1892. \$125.00
164. Kelly, William. *Excursion to California.* London, 1851. 2 vols. \$32.50

189. Linforth, James. Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake. Liverpool, 1855. \$130.00
196. McIlhany, Edward W. Recollections of a '49er. Kansas City, 1908. \$17.50
201. Manly, William L. Death Valley in '49. San José, 1894. \$17.50
212. Mollhausen, Baldwin. Journey from the Mississippi to the coasts of the Pacific. London, 1858. 2 vols. \$25.00
234. Nicolay, C. G. The Oregon Territory. London, 1846. \$20.00
249. Palmer, Joel. Journal of travels ... to the mouth of the Columbia River. Cincinnati, 1847. \$300.00
276. Root and Connelley. The Overland stage to California. Topeka, 1901. \$30.00
310. Thisell, G. W. Crossing the plains in '49. Oakland, 1903. \$27.50
312. Thornton, J. Quinn. Oregon and California in 1848. N. Y., 1849. 2 vols. \$50.00
316. Tyler, Daniel. Concise history of the Mormon Battalion, 1846-47. [Salt Lake City] 1881. \$47.50
317. Udell, John. Incidents of travel to California. Jefferson, Ohio, 1856. \$75.00
327. Wagner, Henry R. The Plains and the Rockies. San Francisco, 1921. \$32.50
328. Warre, Henry. Sketches in North America and the Oregon Territory. [London, 1848.] \$330.00
341. Whitney, Asa. A project for a railroad to the Pacific. N. Y., 1849. \$60.00
346. Wyeth, John B. Oregon. Cambridge, 1833. \$275.00

In addition to the above there were numerous other items of Western history of much rarity, which also brought prices correspondingly high, but as they are somewhat remote from this section of the West, they have not been included.

ROBERT ERNEST COWAN.

A RECENTLY DISCOVERED ACCOUNT OF THE ATONDO EXPEDITION TO CALIFORNIA IN 1683

One of the greatest drawbacks to the pleasure of bibliographical pursuits is the failure, only too frequent, to find a book we have every good reason to believe has been published. When this involves a further long and finally fruitless search among masses of unpublished documents in an effort to locate the original source, we feel at times that the game is hardly worth the candle. This is all apropos of a little piece in French printed in Paris in 1685 with some voyages of the Emperor of China into Tartary. (My *Spanish Southwest* 58a.) The title reads as follows: *Voyages De L'Empereur De La Chine Dans La Tartarie, Ausquels On a Joint une nouvelle decouverte au Mexique*. The new discovery of Mexico announced in this title has nothing whatever to do with the voyages of the Emperor of China, but relates to the elaborate expedition of Isidro Atondo y Antillon to California in 1683. In the Introduction it is stated that the account had been taken from letters written by the commander and others. Everything about it indicated that it had been translated from some printed Spanish piece, but a survey of the literature of the subject failed to disclose any mention of such an origin. I then devoted my attention to the documents in the archives, where several hundred pages relating to the expedition were found, but never anything which could have formed the basis for this French translation.

The unexpected, however, usually happens, and only recently Mr. G. R. G. Conway of Mexico City sent me photostats of the first leaf and last leaf of a little quarto tract with the following running title: *Relacion pvntral de la entrada que han hecho los Españoles Almirante D. Isidro de Atondo, y Antilõ en la Grande Isla de la California este año de 1683 à 31 del Março, sacada de carta de dicho Almirante de 20 y del Padre Eusebio Frãcisco Kino de la Cõpañia de Iesus de 22 de Abril, sus fechas en el puerto de la Paz*. At the bottom of the last page is the colophon: *Con licencia. En Mexico: por la Viuda de Bernardo Calderon, en la Calle de S. Augustin*.

It seems probable from some faint manuscript pagination on the two leaves that the tract originally consisted of four, and the numbering of the paragraphs remaining would also indicate that about two leaves were lacking. It was found by Señor Federico Orosco bound up with some manuscripts of religious interest. A comparison of what remains of it with the little French work proves that the latter was taken from it, although not in what might be called an exact translation. Even where the original text is closely followed, the translator has paraphrased it very considerably, and numerous sentences, parts of sentences, and the entire ending have been omitted. In view of the dates of the letters, it may be assumed that the *Relacion* was printed in the summer of 1683.

HENRY R. WAGNER.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

A Journal of the Birmingham Emigrating Company. The record of a trip from Birmingham, Iowa, to Sacramento, California, in 1850. By Leander V. Loomis . . . Edited by Edgar M. Ledyard. Salt Lake City: Privately Printed, 1928. 8vo, [xi] + 198 pp. Illust. maps and portraits.

The Birmingham Emigrating Company, "as Jolly a set of men and women as ever Braved a western Wind," started from Iowa on the eleventh of April, 1850, fired by the hope of fortune in the gold mines. They traveled across the plains by the North Fork of the Platte River, Old Fort Hall and the Humboldt River, crossed the Sierra over Carson Pass, and arrived at Sacramento in the middle of August. The "Company" at the Missouri crossing consisted of "46 men 4 Women & 1 child, 20 wagons & 80 horses" — a mere fragment of the estimated 60,000 in the great caravans of that year. Their experiences as naïvely set down by Loomis were typical of those shared by all the trains of that summer.

The little band sets out "with Eyes sparkling with the prospect of once more moveing a-head" and encounters roads on the Iowa prairie "better than any tirnpike in the united states." A horse falls from a bridge — "but unfortunately no damage done," thieving Pawnees are encountered, branches of the Platte are crossed on wagon beds improvised as boats, and hunting parties obtain geese, deer and antelope.

At the Mormon ferry on the Platte, above Fort Laramie, the journalist finds it "deverting to look around, and see the different contrivances which have been got up for the purpose of emigrateing to the new Eldorado, where grows the root of all evil, — Some yow will see well riged with good horse teams, — Others with good ox teams, which travel right up with the best of horses, Many have cut their waggons into, and riged small carts, beds about 5 feet long, throw in a little provision and roll on in this way. Others have thrown a pack on their backs and are rushing ahead in this way, one man passed us to day with his pack and cane, rolling on at a brisk pace, Spunging from the emigrants this I believe to bee a quick way of getting through, One man of whom we have heard; loaded a wheelbarow with provision and a change of clothes, and cracked down on it, when he got to Fort Laramie Government supplied him with a fresh stock of provisions, and he again set sail and is now far ahead of us."

Some of the men "clumb to the top" of Independence Rock, a "tremenduous mass of stone" inscribed with the names of emigrants, "Some as far Back as 1843." Upon crossing the South Pass a few were "severely attacted with the Mountains fever . . . Severl of the . . . Boys; were complaining of head-ache, Back-ache, Bone-ache, and weakness generally."

Near Fort Hall provisions began to give out. "H Barns and his crew being

nearly out of breadstuff, and thinking that they must push a little harder . . . took leave of us, and rolled out in good spirits and with the good wishes of all the Boys, we hope he may have good luck, and get through in time to save his Appetite, — ”

The Humboldt gave them their first taste of discomfort if not of real hardship.

“A word for Old Humboldt, — since reaching this stream, we have been most wonderfully deceived we had picktured to ourselves, one of the most grand and beautiful streams which our country could produce, with beautiful roads runing along its pleasant banks, and abundants of the very best of feed, and easy to get, but insted of that, we find a crooked muddy stream, with a wide and swampy, Bottom so mutch so that it is utterly impossible to get horses in to the river at scarcely any point, the road is oblidged to keep out among the hills, the vally being impassible from the fact of its being so muddy. . . . As a general thing the dust along this river is from one to 6 or 8 inches deep, beeing of the very lightest kind, so that the least wind will stir, it up, and almost bling a person. I have seen it so thick that we could, not see wagons that were not more than 4 or 5 rods ahead, This is getting a peep at the Elliphant.” Then, near the Sink of the Humboldt, “in the last 15 miles we have passed 79 Dead horses, Mules and Oxen, — this is some, almost Seeing the eliphant.”

On the summit of Carson Pass they find the Stars and Stripes “Biding defiance to the cold Stiff breezes” — and a few days later they arrive at “Souters old Fort” where the journal ends with some interesting descriptions of the place.

Mr. Ledyard has done an unusually careful piece of work in editing the Loomis manuscript. He has gone over the entire route, taking photographs and locating the old graves. One of these by the way is that of Joseph Barnette who was buried on the Sweetwater August 26, 1844, and whose headstone was evidently inscribed by James Clyman, whose diary was published in earlier numbers of this *Quarterly*.

The book includes a reprint of William Clayton’s “Latter-Day Saints’ Emigrants’ Guide,” published in St. Louis in 1848, only three copies of which are known to be in existence.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

California Copy. By George F. Weeks. Washington, D. C.: Washington College Press, 1928. 8vo, 346 pp. Illust.

California history has been punctuated by a series of “rushes” beginning with that of the gold days and represented in our own times by the Hollywood movement and the efforts of “Californians Incorporated.” Not the least of these, but perhaps the very least in point of written records, was the “Lungers’ rush” of tubercular patients to the salubrious climes of the South. Many of our towns in the “Citrus Belt” owe their beginnings to settlers who were brought in on stretchers in the ’70’s and ’80’s.

The feelings and experiences of the vanguard of this "Lungers' Brigade" are vividly expressed in "California Copy" — a personal narrative of the most intimate kind. Influenced by the writings of Charles Nordhoff, Mr. Weeks sought out a "Sanitarium" in the hills near San Bernardino and after many vicissitudes regained his health sufficiently to brave the climate of San Francisco and to re-engage in his old occupation as type-setter on the *Chronicle*, where he quickly rose to the positions of Special Correspondent and Editor of the Sunday Magazine.

He took an active part in the Denis Kearney riots and gives a version of the killing of I. S. Kallloch and Charles de Young from the point of view of an informed observer.

This was only the beginning of his adventures, however, for he later acquired the control of a Bakersfield newspaper, thrashed an impudent "British Lord" who insulted him, had a "set-to" with the Kern County "Swamp Angels," made a friend of the town "Bad Man" and narrowly avoided killing an innocent customer.

In the '90's, Mr. Weeks purchased a newspaper in Alameda and found plenty of excitement in that peaceful city. Later as a correspondent with Pancho Villa's army in Mexico he claims to have uncovered the fate of Ambrose Bierce, who, he says, was shot by a firing squad under orders of General Urbina.

Mr. Weeks was at the time of his recent death manager of the Mexican News Bureau in Washington. His eventful career as sketched in the sometimes disconnected anecdotes of his narrative is lightened by a lively sense of humor and perhaps not always confined within the limits of deadly accuracy. A brave, cheerful spirit rises to claim the friendship of his readers. C. L. C.

The Last of the California Rangers. By Jill L. Cossley-Batt. [Pseud.] New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1928. 8vo, xix+299 pp. Illust.

Scarcely five years ago newspapers in California and Oregon carried notices of the death of Captain William James Howard. He died at the advanced age of ninety-seven, being with Senator Cole one of the last — possibly the very last — of the principal actors in the stirring scenes of early gold days.

Captain Howard was "The last of the Rangers" — that band formed under Harry Love for the capture of Joaquin Murieta. But this affair was a mere incident in his strangely romantic and colorful life.

It is something of a commentary upon our methods of collecting historical data that this remarkable story of Captain Howard's should have had to wait until almost the day of his death to be recorded. Miss Cossley-Batt has done a distinct service in preserving and arranging the notes of many weeks of conversation with the old pioneer. Her account does not reflect his personality, his style, his exact opinions and recollections as faithfully as if he had written it himself. But age had already made it impossible to obtain a connected narrative.

William Howard came of an old Virginia family that moved westward with the frontier to Mississippi and Texas. His formative years were spent in contact with such Texan pioneers as Sam Houston and David Terry — for whom he developed a lasting friendship. Disappointed in an impulsive love affair, he came

overland through New Mexico and Arizona to arrive in San Francisco in the middle of the first year of the gold rush. Thenceforward he was successively a gold washer, Indian trader, cattle rancher at Mariposa, and a member of the State legislature and the Second Constitutional Convention.

His associates included the notorious squaw man, Major Savage, Major Burney, General Connor, Terry, Broderick, Hutchings, and many others, and he gives interesting side-lights on their lives and peculiarities.

His account of the formation of the Mariposa Battalion, leading to the discovery of Yosemite and of affairs in Hornitos and the Mariposa region, are of great interest.

Some criticism has been directed at the careless spelling of names and places — some of which is evidently due to faulty proof-reading — also to blunders in matters of trivial fact. Such errors, however, are of little consequence in a book which is meant for enjoyable reading rather than for historical reference.

C. L. C.

Troupers of the Gold Coast, or the rise of Lotta Crabtree, by Constance Rourke. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company [1928].

8vo, xiii+262 pp., 22 illust.

Everyone who loves our histrionic past should read Constance Rourke's "Troupers of the Gold Coast." Everyone who takes an interest in our landmarks, such as the little fountain at Market and Kearny streets, may learn something of the giver by a perusal of the chapters dealing with the rise of Lotta Crabtree, the most popular soubrette of the seventies and eighties. For Lotta began her career in the gold camps of the Sierras and treasured to the end of her days a box of gold nuggets that had been showered on her by the appreciative miners in her audience. Poor little Lotta, she was a solitary little figure, always surrounded by crowds but never a part of them, and often complaining in her lonely after years in a Boston hotel that she could not exist without many around her. She was a logical little creature: from strangers she had amassed great wealth and when her will was read, it was discovered that she had bequeathed her millions, not to personal friends but to people whom she never knew — among others, needy veterans of the Great War. Perhaps that great army of young men reminded her of that army of Sierran adventurers who had first acclaimed her.

There are many others beside Lotta — perhaps none more fascinating than Lola Montez, the Countess of Landsfeldt, an Irish woman with the wit of a pot-house but the carriage of a duchess. She all but dethroned a Bavarian King, yet lived to horsewhip a traducer at Grass Valley. Of more stellar importance there were the Menken, the elder and younger Booths, Julia Dean, the Chapmans, and a host of others.

About them all is the glamour of the gold days and the atmosphere of adventure. Can it ever be repeated — that background? Even without the Crabtree, a Montez or a Booth, all California was a stage set for a play, and comedy, drama and tragedy were continuously strutting across the boards. Read the "Troupers of the Gold Coast" and judge. Where were the actors — on the stage or in the pit? In the wings or at the bar?

GEORGE D. LYMAN.

A Bronco Pegasus. Poems by Charles F. Lummis. With illustrations.
Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1928. 8vo, xix,
 150 pp., 12 illust.

As a poet the late Dr. Lummis is not as well known as he is as a writer of prose. Indeed, save a small collection of youthful verses, printed by himself on birch bark which he had gathered — a booklet whose sale of fourteen thousand copies paid his way through Harvard and won him the friendship of the elder gods — save this tiny brochure, no collection of his poems had been published until this volume, an advance copy of which, sent by air mail, reached his bedside just in time for his fast-dimming eyes to see and his dying hands to clasp.

Dr. Lummis, always disclaiming the title of poet, said he was "wistfully aware of the gulf between the Poet Born and the Scholar who could make correct verse," but Dr. Lummis was too modest. Many of his poems reach a high level, and all exemplify his statement that he had "never been too lazy to give his thought the most perfect form that a musical ear, a trained instinct in the Rules and endless hard work could give." He added: "For those who cast their poetic offspring out on the doorstep of Formlessness, I have profound aversion — as for whatever slacker."

This collection is remarkable in its wide variety of subjects. Dr. Lummis *lived* his varied interests: archaeology, the rights of Indians, the restoration of old Missions, libraries, museums, history as it was made in the Southwest, music, humanity. All these are reflected in these poems and they make the "Sort of Human book" he wanted it to be, ranging from the delicate loveliness of "The Rivals" to the scathing irony of "Man-Who-Yawns." He was a past-master of biting sarcasm whenever there was a wrong to right, a folly to expose.

In the arrangement of this collection the later poems take precedence. "Top o' the Hill," written after Lummis had passed his seventieth milestone, opens the book with these lines:

One rests here who still was young,
 Still aflame with songs unsung,
 In his three score years and ten
 Lived the lives of many men;
 Lived to learn and learned to live —
 Love — Achieve — Keep Faith — Forgive.

A few of the most moving poems in the book relate to the strokes of paralysis which brought the man of super-energy to a helpless condition before he had reached middle age — a condition from which his "Friend Will" so marvellously helped him to recover.

The last division of the poems contains those of his youth, and here are several which reveal his classical scholarship. "Farewell of the Chorus to Alcestis" is an exquisite bit, done in a Greek-at-sight examination at Harvard, an astonishing performance for a boy in his sophomore year. The same year a translation which he made of one of Anacreon's poems suggested to him the source of Poe's inspiration for "The Raven." His professors called it "an important literary discovery," but he never exploited it.

The illustrations, most of them from photographs taken by Lummis, add much to the book. There is one, delightfully characteristic, of Roosevelt and Lummis, each laying down the law, or his own opinion, to the other.

HELEN THROOP PRATT.

Crossing the Plains and Early Days in California. Memories of Girlhood Days in California's Golden Age. By Mary E. Ackley. San Francisco: Privately Printed for the Author, 1928. 8vo, 68 pp., 7 illust.

It sometimes seems as if all the phases of journeys to California in the days of gold — whether by overland routes, around the Horn or by way of the Isthmus — had been put on paper; but there are not many left who can give us the story at first hand, and there is something of value in each tale of personal experience. None of these journeys could be wholly void of adventure; tragedy hung on the outskirts of all; overwhelming disaster was the part of some.

Mrs. Ackley, as a child of ten years, came to California from Missouri in 1852. With her father, Samuel G. Medley, her mother and four brothers and sisters, she left her pleasant home in Clark County on April twenty-second. The family formed part of a large company and traveled as comfortably as was possible. By several narrow escapes they missed the most desperate fate; but tragedy in the shape of cholera overtook them and the wife and mother was buried on the plains.

Upon their arrival in September the Medley family settled first in a house near Sacramento, on the Marysville road. Soon after Sacramento was almost destroyed by fire and a flood followed in November whose aftermath was small-pox among the refugees they had taken under their roof — altogether an experience as trying as those encountered on the way. But Mr. Medley was a capable man of some means, who brought his motherless family successfully through their early vicissitudes to a point of affluence, and to the time when "people dressed well, money was plentiful and living cheap compared to what it is now," when "theaters, lectures, operas, parties, etc., furnished amusement," and occasional trips to San Francisco offered extra delights. Wedding parties, both Mrs. Ackley's own and those of others, are entertainingly described, along with the trousseaux of the brides.

The floods which from time to time swept the American and Sacramento rivers over their banks furnished adventures and inconveniences enough to draw out all the native ingenuity of the Medley family and their friends. During her later years Mrs. Ackley has lived in San Francisco. Her book of reminiscences is dedicated to her grandchildren and great-grandchildren. It is finely printed and bound, and the illustrations are excellent.

H. T. P.

Records of a California Family, Journals and Letters of Lewis C. Gunn and Elizabeth LeBreton Gunn, Edited by Anna Lee Marston. San Diego, 1920. 8vo, pp. 279.

This beautiful volume (an example of the work of the well-known San Francisco printers, Johnck and Seeger) is another example of the presentation in fittingly permanent form of early family journals and letters for the pleasure and benefit of present-day relatives and friends. In her foreword, Mrs. Marston says, "This record of my parents' journey to California and of their life there in the early days was prepared for my grandchildren. Friends who have found it of human interest, and of value for its accounts of conditions in California in the fifties, have urged me to give it to a larger circle of readers." It would be fortunate if other families who possess such documents and the means to do so would make them available in similarly pleasing and lasting format, and Mrs. Marston's work may well be an inspiration for such action.

The book has been produced in an edition of three hundred copies, one hundred only of which are for sale (through Mr. John Howell, of San Francisco). Mrs. Marston is the wife of the well-known San Diego merchant and philanthropist, George W. Marston, and this delightful volume comes as a fitting memento of their Golden Wedding anniversary on May 3, 1928. The illustrations of the book are especially to be commended. The frontispiece is a colored reprint of a view of Sonora in January, 1852, and the work is further embellished with a number of finely-executed photogravures reproducing photographs of the members of the family mentioned in the text, while the charming little chapter headings are from the pen of the well-known San Francisco artist, W. R. Cameron.

Lewis Gunn arrived in California in August, 1849, after an overland journey across northern Mexico. He was a serious youth, and his description of the difficulties met with at the mines are of real historical value. Having a medical education, he soon left mining for medicine, removing to Sonora, where his family joined him in 1851. There he practiced his profession, ran a drug store and a book store, edited and published the Sonora *Herald*, lectured on temperance, and led the anti-slavery party in that hotbed of Southern sympathizers. The picture of early Sonora life disclosed in his journal and in the charmingly written letters which his capable wife wrote to her family in the East is most worth while. They were the parents of Mrs. Marston. CARL I. WHEAT.

Echoes of the Past about California, by General John Bidwell, and In Camp and Cabin, by Rev. John Steele, Edited by Milo M. Quaife. Chicago, The Lakeside Press, 1928. 12mo, pp. xxii, 377.

The Lakeside Press of R. R. Donnelley and Sons, Chicago, turns again to California for the text of this most recent addition to the lengthening shelf of its Christmas publications — "The Lakeside Classics" — issued each year for distribution to its customers and friends. This is the twenty-sixth volume of this notable series of reprints, and while certain slight changes have been made

in format, typography and binding, this number follows the original plan of the publishers to present "well made, practical books, free from eccentricities," and "handy to hold." They are books made to be read and enjoyed, and fortunate indeed is the possessor of this remarkable set.

The selection of text for this latest volume coincides nicely with the publishers' declared object of attempting to find "an historical subject of human interest, which because it has not been previously published or because of its rarity will come fresh to the average reader." Most readers of this *Quarterly* are familiar with Bidwell's *Echoes of the Past*, first published serially in *The Century Magazine* in 1890, and reprinted in pamphlet form shortly after General Bidwell's death, by the *Chico Advertiser*. The Steele narrative is less familiar. It first appeared as a pamphlet at Lodi, Wisconsin, in 1901, four years before the author's death, and it represents an elaboration, many years after the event, of young Steele's journal of 1850-52 in the California mines. The author, who in later life was a Methodist Episcopal clergyman, had already published an account of the overland journey under the title "Across the Plains in 1850." The work now reprinted gives an excellent picture of the difficulties and hardships of the early day miner, and is a valuable commentary on the life and times of California's youth.

The Lakeside Classics are produced under the competent editorship of Milo M. Quaife, whose scholarly notes and comments continue to add greatly to their worth and interest. Typographical betterments are, we suspect, to be assigned to The Lakeside Press's able and youthful typographer, William R. Kittredge.

C. I. W.

La Reina, Los Angeles in Three Centuries, by Laurance L. Hill. Los Angeles, the Security Trust & Savings Bank, 1929. Small 8vo, pp. 208, illust.

This profusely illustrated book (it can hardly be termed a "pamphlet," though it comes in paper covers) is another product of the pen of that enthusiastic member of the Southern California Historical Society, Mr. Laurance L. Hill, who is incidentally the publicity manager of the Security Trust & Savings Bank of Los Angeles. It has been published in a large edition for free distribution, to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the bank's foundation, but seldom has such a production more successfully avoided the appearance of "advertising." It is no mere institutional history; rather is it the story of the ups and downs (we are glad to say mostly the ups) of a great community—El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de Los Angeles—and it embraces by far the finest and most complete collection of illustrations relating to that city and its development that has ever been brought together under a single cover, among them the two contrasting views of Los Angeles in 1853 and 1929 which are reproduced herewith.

Perhaps one day San Francisco's wealth of dramatic background will inspire one of its flourishing institutions to bring out something similar anent the colorful bay region and Northern California. To such an enterprise this Society could well lend its aid.

C. I. W.



LOS ANGELES IN 1853
 The first known sketch of Los Angeles
 (From the Pacific Railroad Reports)



LOS ANGELES IN 1929
 (Reproduced through the courtesy of Laurance L. Hill and the Security
 Trust and Savings Bank of Los Angeles. See review of
La Reina in this number.)

Sierra Club Bulletin, February, 1929. Published by the Sierra Club, San Francisco, California. 8vo. 112 pp., 33 plates.

Under the able and painstaking editorship of Mr. Francis P. Farquhar, one of the Directors of this Society, the *Sierra Club Bulletin* again appears with a satisfying modicum of material relative to the old West. The editor himself deals informatively with the controversy which has so long raged over the identity of the first party to ascend the true Mt. Whitney, whose lofty summit is disclosed in another article to rise, as recently found by "precise leveling," to the height of 14,495.811 feet above mean sea level." (Let's pile a couple of stones on the summit rock and call it 14,496.) The early days of the Jasper Park region are told by Judge F. W. Howay, of British Columbia, this being the section where members of the Sierra Club camped and clambered during the summer of 1928, as related in Walter L. Huber's article on "The Sierra Club in the land of the Athabaska."

The editor of this *Quarterly* cannot resist the registration of a faint but nevertheless distinct feeling of envy toward the editor of the *Sierra Club Bulletin* for the general typographical excellence again achieved in that publication. It was produced by the well-known San Francisco printing firm of Taylor and Taylor.

C. I. W.

The Road to Oregon. A Chronicle of the Great Emigrant Trail. By W. J. Ghent. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1929. 8vo, xvi+274 pp. Illust.

At first glance this work might appear to duplicate such previous accounts as Parkman's or the recollections of such pioneers as Bidwell, Bryant, and Burnett. But it does nothing of the sort. It is built upon a plan of its own which is intended to be, and is, a summary of the more important features of westward emigration to Oregon and California by way of all the various routes which converged at South Pass. The time covered includes the whole period of travel by pack-train and team from the days of the earliest trapper-explorers to the building of the first transcontinental railroad.

Very properly and consistently the trappers, the missionaries, and particularly the home-seeking overland emigrants prior to the gold rush, receive the lion's share of attention. A useful, though brief, chapter is devoted to the geography of the various tracks and their exact courses. Another short chapter outlines the overland history of the gold rush. Still a third records the events of the "factionous fifties," and the "stage coach era" receives interesting treatment. A review of troubles and encounters with the savages, together with the building of some of the government military posts and a survey of "the decline of the trail" conclude the book. Appended are informative notes and bibliographic comments.

C. L. C.

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The Society held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel on Tuesday, December 11, 1928. The speaker was Professor E. O. Essig and his topic "Some Russian Influences on the History of California." The speaker showed lantern slides of early pictures of Fort Ross, and of numerous photographs taken by himself of the site as a whole and of various details.

After outlining the history of the settlement largely with reference to its agricultural contribution to the Alaska settlements, he described the Fort Ross establishment at the period of its greatest extent. With this as a basis, various pictures were shown of surviving remnants of the various structures. Some interesting pictures of the old orchard trees and their fruits were among those exhibited.

Following the Annual Business Meeting at the Clift Hotel on Friday, January 25, 1929, Mr. Robert Ernest Cowan addressed the Society on "Some Romantic Realities in the History of California."

Mr. Cowan prefaced his remarks by saying that he was not offering something heretofore undiscovered but wished to emphasize, in telling several incidents of California history, the fact that certain moments were turning points at which the whole course of events might readily have been altered. One such was the signing of the peace treaty between Mexico and the United States with its cession of California a few days after the discovery of gold. The nominal consideration paid by the United States would certainly have been increased, even if the cession itself had gone through, had knowledge of the event gone out to the world.

Another critical moment was in 1849, when the entire newly elected state administration and most of the legislators embarked on a small steamer at San Francisco to go to San Jose to be sworn in. The steamer nearly foundered. Such a contingency might have robbed the first legislature of its sobriquet of "The Legislature of a Thousand Drinks" and it might also have resulted in one that would not have left such a remarkable record of achievement and wisdom. Mr. Cowan paid a proper tribute to its record.

Mr. Anson S. Blake addressed the luncheon meeting held at the Clift Hotel on Tuesday, February 26, 1929. The topic was "The Life of the Early Day Miners, 1849 and 1850." The material consisted of excerpts from the letters of Charles T. Blake written during that period, and from the contemporary Diary of Charles T. H. Palmer.

ANNUAL MEETING

Previous to the address of Mr. Cowan the Report of the Nominating Committee was read and election of Directors for the year 1929 took place, the

incumbents being returned to office by a unanimous vote. The reports of the officers and other committees were then read, and, together with that of the Nominating Committee, are printed below.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY AND TREASURER
For the Year Ending December 31, 1928

Members January 1, 1928	331
Elected 1928	50
	381
Resigned	11
Dropped for non-payment of dues	3
Deaths (1 patron, 5 active)	6 20

Total Membership December 31, 1928 361 Net Gain—30

One patron member was added during the year and two patron members were transferred to the active list.

Meetings

Six board meetings were held by the Directors during the year, and the Society held eleven luncheon meetings, the first of which included the annual business meeting. The luncheon meetings were as follows:

- Jan. 27: "The Sponge—James King of William, His Surgeons, and the Vigilantes," George D. Lyman, M. D.
 Feb. 21: "Washington, The Patriot," Mr. Harry L. Todd.
 Mar. 28: "Grains of Gold in the Stream Bed of Time," Prof. Frank H. Probert.
 April 27: "Memories of the Past," Mme. Emelie Melville.
 May 22: "Peter Lassen and His Mountain," Mrs. Frederick H. Colburn.
 June 19: "Fact vs. Fancy in California's History," Mr. Carl I. Wheat.
 Aug. 21: "Historic, Reminiscent, and Otherwise," Hon. Frank L. Coombs.
 Sept. 25: "Mark Twain in the West," Mr. Cyril Clemens.
 Oct. 16: "Sixteenth (Center) Street, San Francisco, in 1857," Charles Francis Griffin, M. D.
 Nov. 20: "Exploring California, 1860-1873," Mr. Francis P. Farquhar.
 Dec. 11: "Some Russian Influences on the History of California," Prof. E. O. Essig.

Exhibitions

A case of material was exhibited by the Society at the Book Fair of the League of American Pen Women at the Mark Hopkins Hotel, from February 27 to March 3; and from November 12 to November 17 the Society held, in its own rooms, an exhibition of early day pictures of San Francisco, of the Nineteenth Century. This was well attended. In this connection it is proper to say that the Society is glad to receive gifts as well as loans for the permanent exhibit maintained in the Society's rooms.

Gifts and Loans

For gifts and loans of books, pamphlets, pictures, manuscripts, and other historical items (aside from the material already on hand and that lent only for special exhibitions) the Society is indebted to the following: Edward Dean Adams, American Council of Learned Societies, Miss Helen Baum, Mrs. Avis Yates Brownlee, California Genealogical Society, Arthur H. Clark, Committee for Conservation of Wild Animal Life (California Academy of Sciences), Miss Annie C. Day, Mrs. J. H. Deering, Diamond Jubilee Committee, Mrs. L. F. Dunand, Mrs. F. D. Elwell, William Warren Ferrier, Miss Laurilla M. Hathaway, Hawaiian Historical Society, Mrs. Belle Chapman Hawley, Griffith Henshaw, John Howell, Edward Jesurun, Miss Sarah Louise Kimball, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D., Louisiana State Museum, Ludlow Typograph Co., William A. Magee, M. Hall McAllister, Lewis A. McArthur, Douglas C. McMurtrie, Garfield D. Merner, Mrs. Joseph L. Moody, Mrs. Charles M. Morris, Native Sons of the Golden West, Enrique M. Navarette, Newberry Library, 91st Division U. S. Army, Miss Margaret O'Callaghan, Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society, Frederick Law Olmsted, Plandome Press, Frank H. Probert, Miss Anna L. Sawyer, Mrs. A. W. Scott, Society of California Pioneers, Society of Engineers, Sons of the Revolution (District of Columbia), Mrs. J. Sultan, Sutro & Co., Mrs. Wilbur M. Swett, Clint Clay Tilton, D. Q. Troy, University of Colorado, University of North Carolina Press, University of Pennsylvania, Henry R. Wagner, Carl I. Wheat, Miss Lottie G. Woods, Wyoming State Department of History.

Mr. Templeton Crocker's collection of books, manuscripts and pictures is continually at the service of the Society at its rooms.

Financial

The year past has been a successful one financially for the Society. We paid during the year the bill for the December 1927 *Quarterly* which was noted as not being paid in last year's statement, and we paid for three of this year's *Quarterlies* and had a balance on hand almost adequate to pay for the December 1928 *Quarterly*. This condition of affairs was in some measure due to generous contributions to the Society's work. Mr. Templeton Crocker has continued to pay one-third of the rental of the Society's rooms. He also contributed \$384.95 for illustrations for the *Quarterly*. Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman advanced for the printing of the Clyman Journal \$440.20. When a remittance was made him on the advance of last year for the printing of the De Massey Journal he replied to the Society saying that he would like the remaining proceeds from both publications to be put into a publication fund for the publication of anything that might be deemed worthy by the Society. Mr. Ehrman's suggestion has been adopted, and, as will be seen, \$651.31 has been put into the savings account toward the publication fund during the year. Mr. Crocker donated the remainder of the Hollingsworth publication to the same cause. Mr. Robert E. Cowan and Mr. Anson S. Blake have both made contributions for cuts for the *Quarterly*, and Mr. C. O. G. Miller gave the Society \$100.00 for general purposes without reserve. It will be noted that our publications have brought us income all told this year about seven times what they did in 1927.

The receipts and disbursements of the Society for the year are as follows:

Cash on hand, January 1, 1928.....	\$ 152.33
Receipts during 1928:	
Dues of patron members.....	\$2000.00
Back dues of patron members.....	100.00
Dues of active members.....	3001.50
Back dues of active members.....	20.00
Advance dues of active members.....	275.00
Sale of <i>Quarterlies</i>	538.00
Sale of Clyman, De Massey, and Hollingsworth.....	1152.19
Sale of other publications.....	102.80
Rebate on luncheon postal cards.....	.60
Contributions:	7190.09
Rental.....	\$ 900.00
Publication.....	1070.27
General.....	100.00
	2070.27
	<hr/> \$9412.69
Disbursements:	
Rental.....	\$2700.00
Salary of Corresponding Secretary and substitute.....	1800.00
Telephone.....	65.68
Stationery and office supplies.....	87.49
Luncheon meetings.....	169.58
Exhibitions.....	92.55
Furniture.....	42.50
<i>Quarterly</i>	2157.72
Clyman Journal.....	663.00
Hollingsworth Journal.....	24.00
De Massey Journal.....	283.76
Publication fund.....	651.31
Miscellaneous printing.....	25.77
Binding books.....	9.75
Taxes.....	15.20
Miscellaneous.....	166.95
	<hr/> \$8955.26
On hand December 31, 1928.....	457.43
	<hr/> \$9412.69

Respectfully submitted,

ANSON S. BLAKE,

Secretary and Treasurer.

REPORT OF THE EXHIBIT COMMITTEE

Your Exhibit Committee during the year of 1928 prepared two exhibits. The first was held in conjunction with the San Francisco Branch of the League of American Pen Women, at its Book Fair held at the Mark Hopkins Hotel, February 7 to March 3.

The material exhibited consisted of one case of thirty-one items of foreign printed books pertaining to the history of California. These books were all from the collection of our President, Mr. Templeton Crocker.

Our second exhibit was held in our own quarters, and pictorially it told of the early days in San Francisco. Displayed in the cases were 197 items, while on the walls were 244, and on the tables 4 large albums that contained over 500 more photographs, making a grand total of nearly 1000 views. The material all came from the private collections of our members.

Notwithstanding the inclemency of the weather, the attendance was large and appreciative, there being as our guests many old-timers, to whom fond recollections were brought through the early time photographs on display.

Respectfully submitted,

FRED M. DEWITT,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE PUBLICATION COMMITTEE

Your Publication Committee reports the completion of the sixth volume of the Society's *Quarterly*, comprising about four hundred and thirteen pages and approximately seventy-nine plates. We have been fortunate during the past year in being able to present a very large amount of hitherto unpublished material of first historical importance. Mr. Henry R. Wagner's series of articles on the Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast has continued through the four issues of Volume VI, and their publication has given rise to much favorable comment on the part of students of these subjects. The last chapters of this series will be printed in the issue for March, 1929, and your Directors have expressed the hope that means may be found to make possible the publication of the entire series in book form. They unquestionably constitute an important, scholarly and permanent contribution to the history of the Pacific littoral.

During the year we have published and placed on the market two more numbers of the Society's proposed series of historical volumes. These are the Clyman Journals and the Letters of De Massey (published as *A Frenchman in the Gold Rush*), both reprinted from the *Quarterly*. The sale of these books has been excellent, the Clyman being completely sold out, and but few copies of the De Massey remaining.

It is hoped that during the coming year we may be able to present to the Society a considerable amount of hitherto unpublished material dealing with the early American period in California. A number of interesting articles have already been submitted to your Committee, but we urge upon members of the Society the desirability of the submission of original manuscripts or of diaries or reminiscences of historic import. Owing to lack of space we have been forced during the past year to curtail the presentation of "documentary" material. It is hoped, however, that we may be able to resume such publication during the coming year, to serve as a permanent increment to the published source material of western history.

The arduous work of preparing the *Quarterly* for publication could have been carried on by your Committee only with the continued assistance of Miss Dorothy Huggins, your Corresponding Secretary, who has devoted herself wholeheartedly to those many details which inevitably surround the publication of any periodical.

The typographical format and the cover of the *Quarterly* have been slightly changed during the past year, and your Committee desires the assistance and advice of every member of the Society in bringing the publication to a high typographic standard. We also welcome and solicit all possible suggestions which may lead to improvements in the publication from the standpoint of its contents, interest and utility.

Respectfully submitted,

CARL I. WHEAT,
Chairman.

REPORT OF THE NOMINATING COMMITTEE

The Nominating Committee of the California Historical Society has decided to nominate the present Directors for the ensuing year.

We wish it were obligatory for the committee to add five or more names to the list as is done in some organizations, so that the Society itself would have an opportunity of making a selection of a board which could be strengthened from time to time by new material. In such large associations there are certainly many people who are able and well qualified to serve as Directors.

Yours very truly,

NOMINATING COMMITTEE

JOHN HOWELL, *Chairman*.

JUSTUS S. WARDELL.

FRED R. SHERMAN.

In view of the suggestion made by the Nominating Committee, a resolution was adopted directing the President to appoint a committee to propose an amendment to the By-Laws with reference to the nomination and election of Directors.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

NEW MEMBERS

Bernieri, Mrs. Ettore N., Los Gatos

California Genealogical Society, San Francisco

Griffin, Charles Francis, M. D., San Francisco

Has Brouk, Mrs. Anginette, San Francisco

Heaney, John William, Santa Barbara

Wight, F. G., Oakland